THE OXFORD SURVEY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

GENERAL SURVEY

Reference

THE OXFORD SURVEY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

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THE OXFORD SURVEY OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE

GENERAL SURVEY

INCLUDING ADMINISTRATION, LEGAL PROBLEMS, HISTORY, DEFENCE, EDUCATION, ACCLIMATIZATION, MAPPING, COMMERCE, COMMUNICATION, MIGRATION

With a Coloured Map and 7 Figures in text

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PREFACE

THE object of this series is to furnish a survey of the British Empire and its constituent parts in their geographical and allied aspects, together with their economic, administrative, and social conditions, at the present time. History has not been included as an integral part of the scheme, except for the inclusion of a general historical summary in the General Volume; for the rest, historical references have been included only in so far as they were found desirable for the explanation of existing conditions. The history of the Empire has been brought under review elsewhere, notably in the Oxford *Historical Geography*, edited by Sir Charles Lucas.

The series is in six volumes, and the subject-matter is thus distributed:

I. The British Isles and Mediterranean territories (Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus).
II. Asiatic territories.
III. African territories (with adjacent islands, Mauritius, &c., St. Helena, Ascension, and Tristan da Cunha).
IV. American territories (with the Falkland Islands and dependencies).
V. Australasian territories (including islands in the Pacific Ocean and the British sector in Antarctica).
VI. General.

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The Editors have been in close consultation throughout as to the general plan and details of the work. They have shared between them the arrangements with the contributors, for whose collaboration they express their thanks. Professor Herbertson has undertaken the major part of the work connected with the maps; Mr. Howarth has carried out the greater part of the editorial work in its later stages, has dealt with the illustrations (in the five topographical volumes), and has seen the volumes through the press.

It is desired to acknowledge Mrs. Howarth's collaboration in the work of indexing, and Mr. O. Brilliant's assistance in the compilation of the gazetteer references in the topographical volumes.

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CHAPTER I

BRITISH COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION AND ITS AGENCIES

By Sir Charles P. Lucas

Early systems of colonial administration.

The Colonial Office is a modern institution, the result, like the British Empire itself, of growth and evolution. There was nothing answering to it in the empires of old days. In his essay on the *Government of Dependencies*, Sir George Cornewall Lewis writes: 'The ancient states had no public department or even functionary specially charged with the superintendence and control of the governments of the dependencies, and of the conduct of their respective governors.' In the Roman system, under the Republic, the governors of the provinces, so far as they were under any control during their term of office, were under the control of the Senate. When Augustus substituted an empire for a republic, he divided the charge of the provinces between the Senate and himself, and those provinces fared best which were directly subordinate to the emperor. But he had no cabinet and no secretaries of state. Rome knew nothing of a division of duties or of an office or minister specially concerned with colonies and dependencies. To find an instance of such an office we must look to modern history, and Lewis tells us that 'the Spanish Council of the Indies was the first example of a separate public department in a dominant country for the management of dependencies'.[1]

Lewis published his book in 1841, after Lord Durham's Report had been published, but before responsible government for the colonies, which that report advocated, had come fully into existence. Clear and logical in thought and writing, he assumed that colonies must be either

[1] 1891 Edition, pp. 162–3.

dependencies or independent states, and that, therefore, a Colonial Office must be an office for the government of dependencies. So it was exclusively in its original form. So it is—but not exclusively—at the present day.

Spanish Council of the Indies.

The Spanish Royal Council of the Indies dated from the early years of the sixteenth century. Spanish America came into being with a rush—with a wave of conquest—in marked contrast to the toilsome process by which the overseas dominions of most other European nations, notably the English, were acquired; and it stands greatly to the credit of Spain that no time was lost in organizing some system for the administration and contrôl of her new possessions. The Council of the Indies began to exist in one form or another in the year 1511, and was made a permanent organization by Charles V in 1524. Subordinate to it, and even earlier in date of origin, was a Board of Trade, which had its home at Seville, the river port to which trade with the Spanish Indies, both import and export trade, was confined. This was known as the Casa de Contratacion, which was established in 1503. The Council of the Indies was centred at Madrid, and was usually presided over by the king himself. It was the King's Council, for the control of the king's dominions beyond the Atlantic; and it governed Spanish America, so far as the government resided in the mother country, being supreme alike in legislative, administrative, and judicial matters. It was the earliest instance of a Colonial Office, of a fully organized agency in the dominant country or mother-land for dealing with overseas possessions. It was concerned with the results of conquest more than of colonization, and it was a machine for giving effect to the will of a despotic ruler.

Evolution of the British Empire.

All parts of the British Empire, Crown colonies and self-governing provinces alike, are, as they have always been, the King's dominions. The term is no meaningless title, for the Crown is as much as ever, perhaps more than ever, the one great bond which holds the whole fabric together; but the British Empire, in its existing form and extent, and the present-day organization which handles the

British possessions beyond the seas, have grown up very gradually.

The English took to ocean enterprise almost as soon as the Spaniards. Bristol sent out Cabot to discover North America within five years from the first great discovery of Columbus ; but the sixteenth century, which saw the rise and greatness of the Spanish Empire, was for the English a preliminary time, a time of exploration and adventure, of the beginnings of companies, and of legitimate overseas trade on the Newfoundland banks and elsewhere, coupled with much privateering. One declaration of British sovereignty there was, by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, over Newfoundland in 1583, and in the next few years Ralegh tried to colonize Virginia, but failed (p. 120). We can hardly date the beginning of the British Empire before the seventeenth century, which gives it a history up to date of rather more than three centuries.

For the purpose of tracing the evolution of the Colonial Office and British colonial administration, it will be well to notice the leading features of these three centuries in respect of the overseas work of Great Britain. The seventeenth century has a character of its own. So has the eighteenth century, with the early years of the nineteenth century to the battle of Waterloo ; so has the nineteenth century, and after, to the present day.

The seventeenth century for England was a time of great unrest at home. It began with a new line of kings, imported from Scotland. When it ended, a Dutchman was on the throne. In the interval there was civil war, a king was beheaded, the monarchy was abolished, a republic was established which became a despotism, the Stuart kings were brought back, and finally they were turned out again. It was, in short, in Great Britain, a century of perpetually changing authority. The principal wars were of the nature of civil wars, including war in Scotland and Ireland. It was not a great time of foreign war. The most serious foreign wars were naval and trading wars with the Dutch. It was not till the closing years of the century that the long struggle between

The seventeenth century.

England and France began. Over the seas it was a busy time for British trade and settlement, settlement taking place almost entirely in the West, in America and the West Indies, trade being much in evidence also on the West Coast of Africa, and the East Indies. It was an age when empire-making chartered companies came into existence, alike for forming colonies and for trade. The century opened with the birth of the East India Company, which obtained its charter from Queen Elizabeth on December 31, 1600. The Hudson's Bay Company is of later origin, dating from 1670. The Virginia Company, the earliest of many companies which made or marred the beginnings of the United States of America, obtained its first charter in 1606; and various chartered companies went to work on the West Coast of Africa.

During the century Great Britain acquired permanent footholds in different parts of the world, but very few of them were, like Jamaica taken by Cromwell from Spain, the result of conquest. British colonization, which began in this century, was in its origin almost entirely the outcome of trade and private initiative. The State gave charters, and so far licensed or favoured trade and settlement. But the colonists, unless they were transported as criminals or political prisoners, were not sent out by the Government, and in large measure they went out to be rid of the Government. The Government meanwhile, as has been said, was constantly changing; there was therefore no continuity or system in colonial administration, and self-government for the colonies grew up in fact if not in name.

The eighteenth century.

The eighteenth century and onwards to 1815 was wholly different from the preceding age. It was in the main a century and more of foreign war with France and the nations that followed the lead of France, supplemented by civil war with English colonists, whose severance from the British Empire was also determined by their mother country's war with France. It was an age which began with Marlborough and ended with Wellington, and the first half of which, ending with the Peace of Paris in

1763, was marked at its close by the victories of Wolfe and Clive. It was an age when gain and loss were almost entirely the result of fighting; and in the most notable case during this era, when the empire acquired a new and great province by peaceful means, the acquisition was still the direct outcome of action by the State. This was the acquisition of Australia. It was a fighting time, when notwithstanding trade went on apace. It was a time when there was more continuity than in the preceding century, and when attempts were made at some kind of system; but the development of systematic administration was hindered by perpetual war, and when at length a Colonial Office emerged, it was an office of war and the colonies.

The nineteenth century and after, from the battle of Waterloo down to the present day, has to some extent combined the characteristics of the two preceding centuries, and yet has been widely different from either, the difference being largely due to scientific invention. War has been much in evidence, but it has not been, with the exception of the Crimean War, which had little or no bearing on overseas enterprise, war with any European nation. The wars have been local wars with coloured races, within or on the borders of one or more provinces of the Empire. One notable war there has been with white men, the semi-civil war in South Africa. It has been a great era of acquisition, but very especially of acquisition by expansion, of extending existing frontiers, and filling in vacant spaces. It has been an era when the State has been far more in evidence than in the seventeenth century, and private enterprise far more in evidence than in the eighteenth century. On the other hand, the State has been in evidence as much in relaxing authority as in asserting itself. It has taken over India from a chartered company, but has conceded self-government in fullest measure to British North America, Australasia, and South Africa. It has carried free trade further than has been the case in any other leading country, and has left the self-governing dominions to fix what tariffs they

The nineteenth century and after.

please. This century, like the eighteenth century, falls into two divisions, the dividing line being drawn a little before the year 1880. In the last thirty or forty years little short of a new empire has come into existence, promoted as of old by foreign—in this latest phase mainly German—competition, evolved as of old largely through the agency of chartered companies, the British North Borneo Company, the Royal Niger Company, the Imperial British East Africa Company, and the British South Africa Company. Outside the tropics, starting from the British North America Act of 1867, the self-governing dominions have been taking final shape as nations.

Evolution of colonial administration.

Such being, in rough outline, the evolution of the British Empire (which may be followed more closely in Chapter IV), how far has it been accompanied by a parallel evolution of a government agency or agencies in the United Kingdom, for dealing with the British overseas possessions?

These possessions, it must be repeated, were and are the King's dominions. Their allegiance was and is to the Crown. As the constitutional monarchy in the United Kingdom has been evolved, and as the relations between King, Parliament, and people have from time to time been modified and adjusted, so the King's will in regard to his overseas dominions has been conveyed through different channels, and from time to time the advisers of the Crown have been differently constituted.

Absence of definite system in the seventeenth century.

In the beginning the King's Council was obviously the Board to advise the King on overseas matters. Parliament had not then the powers that it now has; and though, even in the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI, Acts of Parliament were passed relating to the Newfoundland fisheries, parliamentary grants were not required, and laws, as a rule, were not wanted for the prosecution of overseas enterprise. What was wanted was a royal licence whereunder private citizens or collections of private citizens could go to work beyond the seas without let or hindrance from British subjects, or from the subjects of powers in amity with Great Britain. There were Royal

Patents for discovery and trade from Cabot's time onwards, but we need not go behind the beginning of the seventeenth century; and it has been seen that that century was a time when chartered companies were numerous, and trade and settlement abounded, but when substantial authority was at a discount, when British citizens went very much their own ways beyond the seas, and in some years of which colonies were places of refuge from England, rather than places for the enlargement of England. We do not look for, and certainly should not find, any well-defined system of colonial administration in the seventeenth century. There is, until the last years of the century, an entire absence of continuity.

As Professor Egerton has pointed out in his *Short History of British Colonial Policy*,[1] the first charter granted to the Virginia Company in 1606, when James I was King, contemplated a Royal Council for the colonies; but the council never came into being, and there is no evidence of special committees of the Privy Council or of special commissions appointed by the Privy Council to deal either with trade or with colonies before the year 1622. It will be borne in mind that throughout the seventeenth century, trade and plantations or colonies went hand in hand; and, so far as the Government was concerned, trade rather than colonization set the tune. The Navigation Acts were passed, directed against the great trading rivals of England, the Dutch; and those Acts, as will be further pointed out, largely embodied the colonial policy of Great Britain.

Trade and plantations.

In any attempts at organization and control during this century, therefore, we should expect to find, and we do find, trade and plantations constantly overlapping each other. In 1622–3, a special commission on trade was appointed to report to the Council. In 1625 King Charles I constituted a Commission of Trade on a broader basis, placing within its purview plantation matters as well as trade pure and simple. In March 1630, a Privy Council Committee of Trade was appointed which lasted for ten

[1] 2nd Edition, pp. 25–8.

years. The King usually presided over it; all matters of trade which came before the Privy Council were referred to it, and it had executive as well as advisory powers. But it was not much concerned with business relating to the plantations. To deal with this latter business, temporary commissions and committees of the Council were appointed to deal with particular colonies or cases, such as a 'Committee on the New England plantations'; and on April 28, 1634, King Charles constituted a Commission for Foreign Plantations to deal with all colonial matters, at the head of which was Archbishop Laud. This commission, which was really a committee of the Privy Council, was given the fullest powers 'for making laws and orders for the government of English colonies', and it lasted till about the year 1641, till the rupture between King and Parliament. It 'seems to have been created as a result of the steady Puritan emigration to New England, with the object of enforcing the royal will beyond the sea',[1] and it may be taken as the first embryo of a British Colonial Office.

House of Commons and colonial questions: Council of State.

The Long Parliament came into existence in 1640, and the Commons began to assert their right to have a voice on colonial questions. In November 1643 a special commission was appointed by Parliament to control business relating to the plantations. It consisted of eighteen members, among whom were John Pym, Oliver Cromwell, and Sir Harry Vane, its president being Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, who had been much concerned in colonial and trading enterprise in connexion with the West Indies and the West Coast of Africa. This commission seems to have remained in existence up to the date of the execution of King Charles. Subsequently, down to the Restoration, from 1649 to 1660, colonial questions were dealt with by the Council of State. The Council of State acted as a Board of Trade and Plantations, and various short-lived committees were formed out of it, supplemented by mixed boards in which merchants were

[1] *American Colonial Government, 1696–1765*, by Professor O. M. Dickerson, p. 17.

included, such as a standing committee of officers and merchants appointed by Cromwell, in 1656, to take cognizance of all matters in Jamaica and the West Indies, Jamaica having been acquired in the previous year. Side by side with the Council of State and its committees there existed from 1650 to 1653 a commission or council of trade, created by Act of Parliament in August 1650, and presided over by Sir Harry Vane. The instructions to this commission included the English plantations in America or elsewhere, but as a matter of fact, the commissioners dealt only with trade, and left the plantations to the charge of the Council of State.

Privy Council Committee and Councils for Trade and Plantations.

When the monarchy was restored, no time was lost in paying attention to colonial business, and merchant advisers came more to the front; but still there was little or no continuity or system. On the 4th of July, 1660, a committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations was appointed, and was supplemented in November and December of the same year by two councils, one a Council of Trade, the other a Council for Foreign Plantations. These two councils seem to have remained in existence till 1665, when the business of trade and plantations reverted wholly to the Privy Council and its committee or committees. In 1668 four standing committees of the Council were constituted, one of which was for trade and plantations. In that same year the Council of Trade was revived. In 1670 the Council for Plantations was revived. In 1672 these two councils were amalgamated, and finally in 1674 the commission which had created the combined Council was revoked, and once more colonial matters fell back into the charge of a committee of the Privy Council. There was no further change until the year 1696, when on May 15 King William III created a new Board of Trade and Plantations.[1]

Taking this year as the end of the seventeenth century,

[1] The above has been mainly taken from *British Committees, Commissions, and Councils of Trade and Plantations, 1622–75*, by C. M. Andrews, 'Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,' 1908.

it is clear that throughout the century there was no system and no continuity in dealing with colonial matters, as there was no system and no continuity in colonial matters themselves. The times made for want of control, for self-government abroad, for non-interference in England. The nearest approach to continuity of machinery is to be found in the Privy Council or its equivalent under the Commonwealth. In other words, there was little outward sign of a Colonial Office as a separate agency during the seventeenth century.

Navigation Acts.

While, however, we look in vain in this seventeenth century for a Colonial Office, a recognized separate agency for dealing with the British colonies and dependencies, we find in the Navigation Acts a pronouncement of a more or less definite and continuous colonial policy. These Acts originated, as has been said, in the competition of the Dutch with the English for naval and commercial supremacy. Adam Smith wrote :

> ' The defence of Great Britain depends very much upon the number of its sailors and shipping,' and his verdict upon the Navigation Acts was that ' as defence is of much more importance than opulence, the act of navigation is perhaps the wisest of all the commercial regulations of England '.[1]

But, originating in the desire to make and keep England as a nursery for sailors by reserving to British ships the British carrying trade, these Acts embodied the view that for Great Britain at any rate trade was the *raison d'être* of colonies, and that in dealing with colonies trade considerations should be paramount. This was for many generations the settled colonial policy of England. In 1646 the Long Parliament passed a Navigation Act, which was followed by a similar enactment in 1651. When the Restoration came in 1660, the first Parliament of King Charles II held in that year passed an Act continuing and extending the policy of the former Acts, for in regard to trade and the colonies a revolution in the political system

[1] *Wealth of Nations* : chapter on ' The Restraints upon the Importation from Foreign Countries of such Goods as can be produced at Home '.

of England left the point of view unchanged. Three years later, in 1663, another famous Navigation Act was passed, entitled 'An Act for the encouragement of Trade'.

'By the Navigation Act,' writes Mr. Doyle, 'the Long Parliament first practically asserted and acted on the doctrine, that the colonies formed a connected whole, a member of the body politic, to be dealt with on certain fixed principles and for the benefit of the entire community. . . . In dealing with the colonies it established principles which held good till the hour of their separation.' [1]

Colonies in relation to trade and naval requirements of England.

These words are borne out by the clause in the Act of 1663 which forms the preamble to the provisions relating to the colonies and trade with the colonies. The clause runs:

'And in regard His Majesty's plantations beyond the seas are inhabited and peopled by his subjects of this his kingdom of England; for the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindness between them, and keeping them in a firmer dependence upon it, and rendering them yet more beneficial and advantageous unto it in the further equipment and increase of English shipping and seamen, vent of English woollen and other manufactures and commodities, rendering the navigation to and from the same more safe and cheap, and making this kingdom a staple, not only of the commodities of those plantations, but also of the commodities of other countries and places, for the supplying of them; and it being the usage of other nations to keep their plantations trade to themselves.'

Here, in an Act, not confined to colonial matters but dealing with trade generally, we have the point of view from which the British colonies were regarded in the seventeenth century, the point of view which held the field long after the seventeenth century had passed away. The colonies were to be subordinate to the naval requirements and the trade of England, they were to be dealt with uniformly from this standpoint, to share in the benefits which commercial monopoly brought to the mother country, and to be held in control by confining

[1] *The English in America*, vol. i, Virginia, &c., p. 281.

their trading relations to the mother country. The policy was clearly laid down and continuously followed long before an administrative agency for dealing with the colonies was placed on any separate, sure, and continuous footing. In fact the need for such an agency was not seriously felt as long as trade was secured by what were considered to be adequate regulations, and as long as the colonies were regarded wholly or mainly in the light of feeders of trade. Hence the absence of a Colonial Office. Hence the nearest approach to it, when the seventeenth century ended, was a Board of Trade and Plantations.

The relations of Great Britain to her colonies from the beginning of British colonization throughout both the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries are well summed up in the following passage from Cornewall Lewis's *Government of Dependencies*:

'The early English colonies were in practice nearly independent of the mother country, except as to their external commercial relations; and there was scarcely any interference on the part of England with the ordinary management of their internal affairs. Accordingly, there was at that time no separate department of the English Government, charged exclusively with the superintendence of the government of the dependencies; and the business connected with them, being chiefly commercial, was assigned first to a Board, and afterwards, for a short interval, to a permanent committee of the Privy Council, which had the management of the affairs of "Trade and the Plantations".'[1]

Board of Trade and Plantations.

The Board of Trade and Plantations, which was created in 1696, continued in existence down to the year 1782. It lasted down to the end of the War of American Independence, and expired before the last series of wars with France. Thus, whereas in the seventeenth century almost every two or three years there was some new machinery for dealing with the colonies, during the greater part of the eighteenth century the machinery remained the same. It will be borne in mind that the century was one when civil war was, except for Jacobite

[1] 1891 Edition, pp. 159-60.

risings, at an end, when the monarchy went on uninterruptedly, and when, except during Walpole's administration, England was constantly engaged in foreign war. It was a period, therefore, when administrative changes might hardly be looked for at home, except for particular reasons existing at the particular times when they were made. During considerably more than half the century there was little alteration of machinery ; but on the other hand, as Mr. Doyle has pointed out, there was still a great lack of definiteness and of uniformity ; and the public interests suffered from the want of 'a permanent Colonial Department through which and in concert with which both Crown and Parliament should act in all colonial questions'.[1]

How far did the Board of Trade and Plantations answer to, or fall short of a Colonial Office ? Trade and colonies, it will be remembered, went hand in hand, the plantations being regarded primarily as feeders of trade. So far, therefore, from being exclusively a Colonial Office in any sense, the Board was a Board for Plantations only in virtue of its being a Board of Trade ; the charge of plantations was only one among many duties assigned to it, all bearing directly or indirectly upon the commercial prosperity of England. The Board was created by Order in Council in May 1696, the chief ministers of state being *ex officio* members, and the ordinary paid working members being eight in number, all members of one or the other of the two Houses of Parliament, each paid £1,000 per annum, with an additional allowance to the President. Among them, at one time or another, were various men distinguished in other fields than politics or administration. One of the original members was the philosopher, John Locke, who had drafted the Fundamental Constitutions of the Carolinas ; when he retired, his place was taken by Matthew Prior ; and a little later Joseph Addison was for a short time a member of the Board. The powers given to it by its commission were very wide ; but it

[1] 'The English in America,' by J. A. Doyle, *The Colonies under the House of Hanover*, p. 103.

fell short of a Colonial Office, not only in the admixture of its duties, but also in being more or less subordinate, on the one hand to a secretary of state, and on the other to the Privy Council and its committees.

Secretaries of State.

As the Privy Council was the King's Council, so the Secretary of State was the King's Secretary. Originally there was but one King's Secretary; then there were usually two, known first as principal secretaries and subsequently as secretaries of state. When the eighteenth century opened, there were two secretaries of state, one for the Northern Department, and one for the Southern Department, the titles indicating that one dealt primarily with the Northern Powers of Europe, the other with the Southern Powers. But the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, who was usually the senior of the two, had far the larger share of the business of the State, and he was, nominally, at any rate, the executive officer who dealt with the colonies.

Relations between Board of Trade and Secretary of State.

The actual relations, however, between the Board of Trade and Plantations and the Secretary of State, and the powers claimed or exercised by either, depended mainly upon the personality of the man who presided over the Board or who was Secretary of State at a particular time. In the autumn of 1748, through the influence of the Duke of Bedford, who was then Secretary of State for the Southern Department, George Dunk, second Earl of Halifax, whose name is borne by the city of Halifax, in Nova Scotia, founded in 1749, became head of the Board. His chief adviser, who became Secretary to the Board, was John Pownall, brother of Thomas Pownall, the well-known Governor of Massachusetts and author of *Administration of the Colonies*. Halifax was a vigorous and energetic man, who greatly raised the status of the Board of Trade and Plantations, at once by his business capacity and by his personal ambition. His object was, as far as can be judged from the various references made to the subject in Horace Walpole's *Letters* and elsewhere, to convert the Board of Trade and Plantations into a Colonial Office, with himself as Secre-

tary of State. In 1750 he tendered his resignation, unless his position as President was placed on a better footing; and in 1751, when the Duke of Bedford ceased to be Secretary of State for the Southern Department, he again pressed his own claims and those of the Board, and eventually secured the passing of an Order in Council in March 1752, whereby the patronage and correspondence connected with the colonies were practically vested in the Board and its President, although 'on important matters governors might address the Secretary of State, through whom also nominations to office were to be laid before the King in Council'.[1] In 1757, when Pitt came into power as colleague of the Duke of Newcastle, and took the post of Secretary of State for the Southern Department, Halifax strove again to be made a third Secretary of State. In June 1757 Horace Walpole wrote: 'Lord Halifax had often and lately been promised to be erected into a Secretary of State for the West Indies. Mr. Pitt says: "No, I will not part with so much power."'[2] The refusal of his request led Halifax to resign, but he was appeased by being given a place in the Cabinet, and he continued to preside over the Board till 1761, apparently dealing more especially with West Indian business, while Pitt watched over the war with France in North America and the interests of the North American colonies. In March 1761 Horace Walpole writes: 'Mr. Pitt was acquainted that the King . . . would restore the Department of the West Indies which had been disjoined to accommodate Lord Halifax, to the Secretary of State,' and in the same letter, 'Lord Halifax goes to Ireland; Lord Sandys succeeds him in the Board of Trade which is reduced to its old insignificance'.[3] In 1762 the Board

[1] Fitzmaurice's *Life of Shelburne*, 1875 Edition, vol. i, pp. 240, &c. In the passage from which these words are quoted will be found a good short notice of the changes which took place. But for a full account of the Board of Trade and Plantations, and the changes in its personnel and powers from time to time, reference should be made to Professor Oliver Morton Dickerson's admirable book on *American Colonial Government, 1696–1765* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1912).

[2] Letter of June 20, 1757.

[3] Letter of March 17, 1761.

of Trade reared its head again during Charles Townshend's very brief tenure of office as its President. Townshend, like Halifax, was admitted to the Cabinet and had much the same powers as Halifax had enjoyed. In 1763 another leading and strong man, Shelburne, presided over the Board for a few months; but in August 1766, Shelburne being then Secretary of State for the Southern Department, an Order in Council was passed which revoked the Order in Council of March 1752, and finally put an end to any conflict of authority between the Board and the Secretary of State, by reducing the Board to a purely subordinate and advisory position. The governors were now instructed to send their correspondence to the Secretary of State and only to send duplicates, for information, to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations.

Administration: eighteenth century.

How colonial business was transacted in Great Britain in the middle of the eighteenth century, after Halifax had left the Board of Trade, but before the Order in Council of 1766 was passed, is shown by the action which was taken after the great Peace of Paris had been signed in 1763, whereby Great Britain acquired Canada, Florida, and various possessions in the West Indies and elsewhere.[1] Lord Egremont, who in October 1761 had succeeded Pitt as Secretary of State for the Southern Department, had already written out for reports from the temporary military governors. Having received them, and the peace having been signed, he referred them and other documents, as from the King, to the Board of Trade and Plantations, of which the formal title was the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, and the short title the Lords of Trade. The reference, which was very fully drafted, placed in the forefront the commercial advantages to be derived from the new acquisitions, and the best means of securing those advantages in permanence, for which purpose the number and kinds of new governments to be established were of all importance. The Lords of Trade reported at length to Lord Egremont,

[1] See *Documents Relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759–91*, Shortt and Doughty, Ottawa, 1907.

described as one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State; and after correspondence with Lords Egremont and Halifax, who succeeded him, they drafted, to meet the case of the new acquisitions in North America and the West Indies, a Royal Proclamation, which was considered and approved in Privy Council, the King being present, and having received the royal assent, as the well-known Royal Proclamation of October 1763, was printed and sent by Halifax to the Lords of Trade, to be by them communicated to the various colonial governors in America. The dispatch, however, to General Murray, the military Governor of Quebec, appointing him to be Governor of Canada, came not from the Lords of Trade, but from the Secretary of State. The commissions of the new governors also were drafted by the Lords of Trade, and, before being approved by the King in Privy Council, were referred to a committee of the Privy Council, entitled the Lords of the Committee of Council for Plantation Affairs, who reported to the Council. Thus we find that the final decision in colonial matters lay with the King and his Privy Council, of which Council there was a committee for dealing with the colonies or plantations, that the chief executive officer was a secretary of state, and that the main advisory body was the Board of Trade and Plantations, which was also one of the mediums of communication with the governors, though—Halifax being no longer the President—apparently more for the purpose of giving information than of giving instructions.

Number of secretaries of state: eighteenth century.

At this time there were two secretaries of state. Earlier in the century the union of Scotland with England had for a time led to the appointment of a third secretary of state, for Scotch business. We have seen that Halifax aspired to be a secretary of state for the West Indies, and in 1768, the acquisition of Canada, together with the growing amount and complexity of the business connected with the American colonies, led again to the appointment of a third secretary of state, who was styled Secretary of State for the Colonies, or Secretary of State for the American Department. The Board of Trade and Plantations

continued in existence as before, and the first Secretary of State for the American Department was Lord Hillsborough, who was, at the time, President of the Board which had already been relegated, as already stated, to the more subordinate position which it had held before the days of Halifax. Lord Hillsborough's two successors as Secretary of State, Lord Dartmouth and Lord George Germain, were also, each in turn, President of the Board ; so that, for the short time during which this third secretaryship of state lasted, there was one minister only dealing with the colonies, and in that respect there was some approach to a Colonial Office.

Burke's reforms ; 1782.

In 1780 Burke, in his speech on Economical Reform, outlined the economies which he wished to effect in the public administration of Great Britain. They included the abolition both of 'the New Office of third Secretary of State, which is commonly called Secretary of State for the Colonies,' and also of the Board of Trade and Plantations. Commerce, he stated, was the principal object of that Board, and he criticized it severely, and probably unfairly, as being useless. As the American War of Independence drew to a close, involving a great decrease in colonial business in consequence of the severance of the thirteen united colonies, the sweeping changes in the organization at home which he had recommended were carried into effect, deriving support, we may well believe, from the unpopularity which attached to Lord George Germain as Secretary of State, and from his eventual resignation ; and by the provisions of the Act of 1782, which bears Burke's name, both the Secretary of State for the Colonies or American Department and the Board of Trade and Plantations were abolished. The Secretaries of State for the Northern and Southern Departments became Foreign Secretary and Home Secretary respectively, and colonial business was assigned to the Home Office. But Burke's Act provided for delegating, as in old days, to a committee of the Privy Council the duties which had been discharged by the Board of Trade and Plantations ; and thus was constituted the present Board of Trade, which is still in

theory a committee of the Privy Council. This committee, styled the 'Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations', was called into existence by Order in Council of March 1784, and was reorganized in August 1786, when it took over from the Home Office the bulk of the colonial business, though the Home Secretary seems still to have remained the responsible executive officer for the colonies.

Secretary of State for War and the Colonies.

The last stage of the fighting century now came on, and England entered on a time of almost continuous war. Again a third secretary of state was in 1794 appointed, this time a secretary of state for war. Appropriately enough, as the existence of the overseas possessions of England was involved in the war, he was also given charge of the colonies, and in 1801 the two departments were formally united under a secretary of state for war and the colonies. Simultaneously with the appointment of a secretary of state for war, and the transfer to him of the control of colonial business, came a final break in the long connexion between trade and plantations. The Committee for Trade and Foreign Plantations ceased to have any direct concern with colonial matters, and became, as it is at the present day, a Board of Trade pure and simple. Thus the eighteenth century, which ended in war, ended quite logically in concentrating the control of the colonies under one minister, who was, at the time, the responsible minister for military business, and in divorcing them from their connexion with boards and committees in which trade gave the lead to plantations.

After the long war came long peace ; and parliamentary government and ministerial responsibility took more and more their modern shape. But war and the colonies still went together, as far as the Secretary of State was concerned, while in the colonies themselves, for many years, the governors were mainly military men ; and, as in the case of Canada, constantly proved that soldiers may make excellent civil governors. As peace went on, however, the duties of the Colonial Minister were more in evidence than those of the War Minister ; especially as, in addition to the Secretary of State for War, there was a Secretary at

War, and the Secretary of State shared with him, with the Home Office, the Ordnance Board, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Treasury responsibility for the army ; whereas in the Colonial Office, in other than money matters, he had undivided control. It was, therefore, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, rather than as Secretary of State for War, that the holder of the combined offices took his status. The combination lasted until June 1854. Then, at the beginning of the Crimean War, more remote than almost any British war from the concerns of the colonies, when military matters and War Office organization called for special attention, a separate Secretary of State for War was appointed, making a fourth secretaryship of state. Thenceforward the Colonial Office was, as it is to-day, in the charge of a Secretary of State for the Colonies, burdened with no other duties. Finally, in 1858, when, as the outcome of the Indian Mutiny, the government of India, which had remained in the hands of the East India Company, subordinated to a Board of Control, was transferred from the Company to the Crown, a fifth secretary of state was appointed—the Secretary of State for India.

Secretaries of State for the Colonies and for India.

It is very noteworthy that, among all the devices and makeshifts for dealing with colonial business which preceded a full-blown Colonial Office in England, colonial matters were never entrusted in whole or part to the Admiralty. In France, the Minister of Marine has from time to time been given the charge of the French colonies ; but, vital as the British Navy has ever been to the acquisition and to the security of British possessions beyond the seas, the colonies have never been an appendage to the Navy, or under the control of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. One little island only, the island of Ascension, is in Admiralty keeping, and all its expenses are borne by naval funds.

Before dealing with British colonial administration in modern days, since the Colonial Office took its modern shape as a separate office under a separate secretary of state, it is necessary to look back once more to the seventeenth century. It has been seen that the dominant

Early movements towards self-government.

feature of that century in the sphere of Britain beyond the seas was absence of systematic control, with the result that early British settlements were to a large extent self-governing. As time went on, some of these settlements grew relatively greater, and others grew relatively smaller. The North American colonies grew actually and relatively greater ; they refused to be taxed by the mother country, faced a war, and became an independent republic. Outside North America, British settlement in the seventeenth century found its chief field in the West Indies ; and the old West Indian colonies, such as Barbados, may be said, like the colonies in New England, to have been more or less cradled in freedom. Well before the middle of the seventeenth century, Barbados had, as it still has, its own little parliament. But, as in the course of years colonies grew and multiplied, the West Indian colonies, being small settlements, became relatively less important, with the result that, after the United States had been lost to the Empire, and after the battle of Waterloo had finally closed the era of fighting, the Colonial Office, having at length taken something like final form and shape, in the sense of having been made the sole agency for dealing with the British possessions beyond the seas, other than India, emerged as an office for the government of dependencies, that is to say, of possessions which were either Crown colonies or, with some exceptions, such as the provinces of British North America, colonies rather receding from than advancing to self-government. The Imperial Act for the Abolition of Slavery, which came into operation at the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign, was an enforcement of the will of the mother country upon the reluctant West Indian colonies ; and, by the results which followed from it, as well as by the mere fact that it was passed, the West Indies were brought nearer than before to the status of dependencies, and carried further from the status of self-governing colonies.

The Victorian era.

Starting, then, with the reign of Queen Victoria, and noticing at the outset what was perhaps the most conspicuous feature of that reign, we have to trace and to

illustrate the evolution of the Colonial Office from being in the main a Crown Colony Office, to its present position to-day, as at once an administrative and diplomatic or semi-diplomatic office—the evolution being due to the grant of responsible government, and the results which have followed from it ; we have at the same time to note how the Colonial Office has gathered under its control certain dependencies—always excepting India—which were at one time in charge of other departments of the State. We have further to give some account of the system of colonial agents up to the present stage of high commissioners of the great groups of self-governing dominions ; and lastly to notice the rise of the Imperial Conference.

Influences of science on colonial administration ; communications.

It has been said above that the difference between the nineteenth century and previous eras in the overseas history of Great Britain has been largely due to scientific invention. Queen Victoria's reign was marked in a pre-eminent degree by the triumphal progress of science. When she came to the throne, modern scientific invention was in its infancy ; when she died, it was, as it is in an increasing degree to-day, dominating the world. When Lord Durham went on his mission to Canada in 1838, the year after the Queen's accession, there was but one small railway in Canada, and none in any other of the Queen's dominions beyond the seas. The same year saw the beginning of regular steam communication between Great Britain and America. It was only in 1837 that Cooke and Wheatstone took out their patent for an electric telegraph. The first submarine cable between Great Britain and America was not laid till 1858, and some years passed before the communication was successfully established. No steamer ran from England to Australia till 1852. There was no direct telegraph line to Australia until 1872, and none to South Africa prior to 1879, the news of the disaster at Isandhlwana in January of that year being brought by ship to the nearest telegraph station, which was in the Cape Verd Islands. Statesmen, writers, and thinkers on Imperial questions, with the one exception of

Lord Durham, do not seem to have foreseen in any measure how great a revolution would be worked by the forces of science, whereas the British Empire, as it stands before us to-day, is largely the outcome of the work of inventors and engineers. Scientific invention has affected colonial administration mainly in two respects. On the one hand, it has made communication more speedy, more frequent, and more regular. On the other hand, it has facilitated the forming of large units beyond the seas, a process which will be traced to some extent, later on.

Effects of rapid communication on local responsibility.

From the point of view of colonial administration, it is important to bear in mind that communication between Great Britain and the British dominions and dependencies in all parts of the world, has not merely been made quicker by steam and telegraphy, but has been made regular and constant through the substitution of steamers and railways for sailing ships and horses. That scientific invention has vitally affected colonial administration is, on the face of it, obvious ; but it is not so easy to decide what has been the net result of the new forces that have come into play. Prima facie the telegraph has infinitely multiplied the opportunities for interference from home, and steamers and railways, by bringing men and news at stated dates, as opposed to uncertain intervals, have made for regularity of system. Scientific invention would, therefore, seem to have worked increasingly against initiative on the spot, and to have contributed to strong and systematic control from home, overriding individual discretion beyond the seas. But, on the other hand, science has brought in its train knowledge far fuller, more accurate, and more up-to-date than was available in old days, and consequently better and more sympathetic appreciation of local conditions and local requirements : while if the telegraph cable makes possible sudden interference from headquarters, at the same time it removes the possibility of misunderstanding, and provides the possibility of revising and modifying instructions. Many instances in history might be quoted when the absence of a telegraph cable enabled self-reliant men at a distance to take on their

own responsibility some strong but beneficial step which Ministers at home, had they been consulted beforehand, would not have countenanced; and it may fairly be argued that facility of communication has, on the whole, tended to diminish self-reliance in the man on the spot. On the other hand, instances might be supplied from the past to illustrate how a situation might have been saved had the telegraph been in existence. Burgoyne's disastrous expedition, which ended in the capitulation of Saratoga, was a case in which a man, not of first-class genius, or of heroic mould, was tied by cut-and-dried instructions from an imperious Ministry at home. Those instructions might, and doubtless would, have been modified had there been an opportunity of interchanging views by telegraph.

Rapid communication, self-government, and imperial unity.

It is possible that the facilities for interference supplied by scientific invention, if they had been supplied at an earlier date, might have militated against the grant of responsible government to the present self-governing dominions by removing in a sense the element of distance, which was the main reason for giving responsible government; but by the time that steam and telegraphy had become fully effective, the dominions had reached the stage when self-government was imperative, and could no longer be denied. In regard, therefore, to the relations between the mother country and the self-governing dominions, it may fairly be said that the effect of scientific invention has been distinctly beneficial, as making for a better understanding between the Colonial Office and the dominions, at a stage in history when interference from home, to any substantial extent, had already been discarded, and by multiplying the opportunities for personal visits.

As regards the relations between the Colonial Office and the Crown colonies and protectorates, rapid communication has clearly tended to produce stronger and more continuous control, but at the same time far more intelligent control; it has also contributed to uniformity of practice and consistency of dealing. Here again science has, in the main, produced undeniably beneficial results.

Railways and federal unity.

It has been wholly beneficial too in enabling greater unity to be created. Without railway communication it is difficult to imagine that there would now be a Dominion of Canada. The British North America Act is of special historical interest, as incorporating a declaration that the construction of a railway, the Intercolonial Railway, to connect the Maritime Provinces with Quebec, 'is essential to the consolidation of the Union of British North America'; and the terms on which British Columbia at a later date consented to join the Dominion were that the Canadian Government should undertake to secure the making of a railway 'to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada'.

The completion of Australian unity has been hampered by the want of railways to connect Western Australia with the eastern States, and the Northern Territory with the rest of the continent; but, had there been no railways in existence in the main areas of population, the Commonwealth could hardly have come into being. Equally important as a nation-making factor have been railways in South Africa. If we turn to the tropical dependencies of Great Britain again, railways have been a potent instrument in consolidating India and its administration. The combination of Northern and Southern Nigeria, which is now being carried out, may be said to be largely the outcome of railway extension into the interior; and on the eastern side of Africa the Uganda Railway holds together the great East Africa Protectorate from the sea-coast to the Victoria Nyanza. In short, in the British Empire, in a conspicuous degree, railways have been a unifying agency.

Union of spheres of science and politics.

It is impossible to appreciate aright the evolution of the British Empire since the beginning of Queen Victoria's reign, and of the political and administrative agencies which handle the Empire, without placing science, as it should be placed, in the forefront of the picture. Science has not only supplied new machinery, it has dictated the terms on which progress shall be made. It has removed old difficulties, but it has also created new

problems. It is no longer possible to treat the sphere of politics and administration as distinct from that of science, because science, at any rate science as it affects the British Empire, dominates, and bids fair still more to dominate, political and administrative action ; and, if it is desired to institute a comparison between the Colonial Office of the present day and Colonial Offices or kindred agencies in past times, perhaps the greatest difference will be found in the fact that the Colonial Office of our times is in telegraphic communication with almost every part of the British Empire, with the exception of a few outlying dependencies such as some islands in the Pacific or elsewhere.

Responsible government.

The loss of the United States did not involve the loss of Canada. It was followed within three or four years by the beginning of settlement in Australia, and the close of the fighting era left the Cape in British hands. Newfoundland had from first to last been British, although British sovereignty over the whole island was not assured until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. All these were lands suitable for British settlement, and not merely areas to be ruled and administered by Great Britain. Every year added to the white population by natural increase and by emigration from Great Britain. Every year, therefore, at a distance from England which steam and telegraphy had as yet hardly begun to countervail, communities, wholly or partly British, were growing in numbers and in strength. Meanwhile in England peace brought reform, popular government and Liberal views gained ground, and restiveness beyond the seas found sympathy at home. In British North America, Nova Scotia had possessed an elected House of Assembly since 1758, and in 1791, the two provinces of Lower and Upper Canada, now Quebec and Ontario, had in each case been given parliamentary institutions. In British North America generally a generation and more had grown up familiar with popular representation, but in no province had the elected House complete control of the finances or any control over the executive officers. Growing discontent with the existing

order in the two Canadas, coupled in the province of Quebec with animosities of race, culminated at length in an armed rising in 1837. In consequence Lord Durham went out to Canada in 1838; and his report, published at the beginning of 1839, led to the grant of responsible government in Canada, Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa—responsible government denoting the system which prevails in England, and under which the executive officers of government, in other words the ministers, are members of and responsible to the Legislature.

Representative institutions, &c., preceding constitutional government.

The process of granting, or in some cases of inviting and pressing, responsible government was spread over a good many years. The general rule has been that the colonies have received representative institutions for some time prior to the grant of responsible government. In Canada responsible government came into full being about the year 1848. In Australia it was preluded by an Imperial Act of 1850, which, among other points, empowered the Australian legislatures to amend, within limits, their constitutions; and this Act, it is interesting to notice, was based upon a report by the Committee of Privy Council for Trade and Plantations, the old machinery being on this occasion once more used, although the questions at issue were not commercial but constitutional. Before 1860 all the Australian colonies, with the exception of Western Australia, as well as New Zealand and Newfoundland, became self-governing colonies. The Cape entered on responsible government in 1872, Western Australia in 1890, Natal in 1893, and the Transvaal and Orange River Colony in 1906 and 1907. In the years which preceded responsible government, and while it was being brought into operation, the case was very commonly presented as one of emancipation from the Colonial Office, from the blighting and reactionary influence of what was then known as 'Downing Street'. This view of colonial relations was strongly but soberly urged in Lord Durham's Report, and with far more exaggeration and vehemence in the speeches of Sir William Molesworth; while Charles

Opposition to the Colonial Office.

Buller, Lord Durham's colleague and right-hand man, drew satirical pictures of the Colonial Office, and criticized its permanent chief, Sir James Stephen, a man of singular ability, under the title of 'Mr. Mother Country'. In 1838, the year in which Lord Durham went to Canada, Molesworth attacked the Colonial Secretary in the House of Commons, and contrasted the administration of India favourably with administration by the Colonial Office, 'where it is so hard to do well or even to avoid doing ill.' Ten years later he was at least as bitter. In 1848 he told the House of Commons, 'It is difficult to express the deep-seated hatred and contempt which is felt for the Colonial Office by almost every dependency subject to its sway,' and in 1850 he spoke of 'the hated tyranny of the Colonial Office'.[1] But by 1850 responsible government had become a reality in British North America, and was well on its way in Australia. The triumph of free trade in England and of the spirit which inspired the free trade movement, gave additional strength to the policy of conferring upon the overseas dominions full liberty to control their own local affairs and imposing upon them full responsibility for their own local troubles and burdens. Gradually the feeling against the Colonial Office as a dead-weight on the colonies was exchanged for a feeling against it as embodying indifference on the part of the home authorities to the colonies and readiness to cut them adrift; and it was hardly until the last quarter of the nineteenth century that better understanding began to grow up, aided by improved communication, and the British communities outside the British Isles came to look upon the Colonial Office as a friend rather than as an enemy.

Emigration.

Lord Durham's Report, which inspired the policy of responsible government, included also an elaborate scheme embodying the views of Gibbon Wakefield for the disposal of public lands in British North America, and for state aid to, and superintendence of, emigration. As regards

[1] *Selected Speeches of Sir William Molesworth*, edited by Professor Egerton, 1903, pp. 14, 18, 203, 305.

public lands in British North America, the scheme came to nothing, largely because the Imperial Government were already more or less pledged to hand over the revenues from the public lands to the colonial legislatures; but as regards public lands in Australia their hands were free; and in respect to emigration generally the report strengthened a movement, which had already begun, for bringing under some kind of government supervision the growing volume of emigration from Great Britain to the colonies. A House of Commons Committee in 1827 had recommended that a Board of Emigration should be appointed 'under the direct control of an Executive department of the State'. Ten years later, after a Government commission on emigration had in the meantime looked into the matter, an agent-general for emigration was appointed, who acted under and reported to the Secretary of State for the Colonies; and, Lord Durham's Report having seen the light in January 1839, in January 1840 a Board of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners was established, subordinate to the Secretary of State for the Colonies and in financial matters to the Lords of the Treasury.

Board of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners.

This Board was in effect an office supplementary and subordinate to the Colonial Office, and its career illustrates the changes which took place alike in the Colonial Office and in the colonies. The commissioners' duties were to collect and publish information for the guidance of would-be emigrants, to deal with questions relating to colonial lands and land laws, to apply to the collection and dispatch of emigrants' funds derived from the sale of colonial lands, to arrange for the passages of emigrants, to administer the Passenger Acts, and to deal with emigration in all its forms. But, as their duties were mainly concerned with colonies which one after another in no long time became self-governing, the main bulk of their work was *pari passu* gradually transferred from them and from the control of the Secretary of State to the colonial governments and their representatives in England. The administration of the Passenger Acts, and the

supervision of the emigration officers at the ports of embarkation, was handed over to the Board of Trade, as being the department to be held responsible for merchant shipping; and eventually the commissioners were left only with that part of their original functions which specially concerned the Crown colonies: this was the supply of East Indian coolie immigrants under indenture to the sugar-growing colonies, mainly in the West Indies. Eventually even this remaining fraction of their business was taken over directly by the Colonial Office, the shipping arrangements being entrusted to the Crown Agents for the Colonies; and in 1878 the Board of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners finally ceased to exist.

Emigrants' Information Office.

During the currency of the Board the tide of public opinion had been setting strongly in favour of self-government, free trade, and absence of State interference, except so far as life and health at sea required stringent Acts of Parliament and careful administration of those Acts; but, after it ceased to exist, interest in emigration seemed again to revive; and, though appeals for state aid to emigration met with no response, one function of the deceased Board was revived, the duty of giving information and guidance to intending emigrants, especially in regard to the British colonies, and in 1886 once more a little subordinate agency was established under the general supervision of the Colonial Office. This is the Emigrants' Information Office, which, with increasing work and increasing usefulness, is wholly paid for by Government funds, but managed by a voluntary committee, the nominal chairman of which is the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the actual chairman being a member of the permanent staff of the Colonial Office.

Colonial Office and self-governing dependencies.

The grant of responsible government necessarily altered to some extent the character of the Colonial Office. It had, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, been almost entirely an administrative office, controlling dependencies beyond the seas. It now ceased to control the administration of the colonies which were no longer dependencies, but it was still the medium of communi-

cation between their governments on the one hand and the Imperial Government and the Crown on the other; it still gave instructions to their governors, who were and are subordinate to the Secretary of State; and still was and is the mouthpiece of the Crown and of the Imperial Government on questions which are not purely local but concern the mother country and the Empire as a whole. The position which the grant of responsible government created was illogical, and the opponents of responsible government were on paper and in their arguments not merely plausible, but unanswerable. Lord Durham thought that a line could be drawn, marking off a colonial from an imperial sphere of influence—to use a term of later date, which came into being in a different connexion; but it has been abundantly proved that such a line could not and cannot be drawn. Yet *solvitur ambulando*! The system which has grown up and holds the field to-day, like many other concrete facts and institutions in English history, is not logical, difficult if not impossible to define, but none the less a good working organization on the basis of compromise rather than of principle. How, it was asked, can a man serve two masters? No answer could be given; but, as a matter of fact, the governor of a self-governing colony or dominion does in a sense serve two masters. He is paid by the colonial or dominion government, is appointed by the Crown on the advice of the Imperial Government, is the servant of the Imperial Government and at the same time the head of the colonial government. The relations of the Imperial Government with the governments of the self-governing dominions have become increasingly diplomatic rather than administrative, and therefore the Colonial Office, in relation to those dominions, has become a diplomatic or quasi-diplomatic rather than an administrative office. There has been evolution at either end. The year 1867 saw the British North America Act, which federated four of the provinces of British North America into a Dominion, to which all other parts of British North America, except Newfoundland, subsequently

Federation.

adhered. By an Act of 1900, Australia was federated under the title of a Commonwealth; and in 1909 the Union of South Africa came into being. Meanwhile, the Colonial Office, which had at one time administered the different colonies which subsequently became self-governing, dealt with them after self-government had been given, interspersed with Crown colonies; and it was not, as will be seen, until 1907, after the Imperial Conference of that year had taken place, that the self-governing colonies were given the distinguishing title of Dominions, and that all the business connected with them was grouped in one separate department of the Colonial Office. This was styled 'the Dominions Department', and has from that date been in no way connected with Crown colony work except in regard to the colonies and protectorates in South Africa and the Pacific, whose fortunes must necessarily be closely connected with the Union of South Africa in the one case, and Australia and New Zealand in the other.

While the Colonial Office was exchanging some of its administrative work for work more akin to diplomacy, in consequence of Crown colonies or semi-Crown colonies having received responsible government, its burden of administration was none the less constantly growing, owing to new dependencies coming into existence or being transferred from the charge of other offices. It has been noted that the third era in the story of the British Empire, extending from the battle of Waterloo down to the present day, falls into two subdivisions, and the dividing line has been taken to be found in the decade between 1870 and 1880. It is not generally recognized that the British Empire may almost be said to have taken a new start from this time, so great has been its latter growth and so surpassingly full of interest its record. It was at this time that a revulsion in public feeling in England began to be apparent against the Whig doctrine, which, if not often put into words, was beyond question strongly held, that the colonies, meaning the present self-governing dominions, must go their ways for good or ill, and that peaceable

separation of them from the mother country was in the order of nature, and might not be an unmixed evil for either party.

Royal Colonial Institute.

In 1868, the year after the passing of the British North America Act, which constituted the Dominion of Canada, the Royal Colonial Institute was first founded, under the original name of the 'Colonial Society'. Its objects, as defined in the Royal Charter of Incorporation which it subsequently received from Queen Victoria, in the year 1882, were and are: 'To promote the increase and diffusion of knowledge respecting as well our Colonies, Dependencies and Possessions, as our Indian Empire, and the preservation of a permanent Union between the mother country and the various parts of the British Empire.' It formed, as it still forms to an ever growing extent, a meeting-place with visitors from the colonies and India. Here views could and can be freely interchanged, and lectures and addresses given, setting forth the value of the oversea possessions of Great Britain, and enlightening the people of this country as to the strength of feeling in favour of the imperial connexion existing among the younger communities of the Empire. In connexion with it there grew up a new school of men who reverted to the more patriotic views embodied in Lord Durham's Report.

Imperial unity and imperialism.

While he was the apostle of self-government, Lord Durham was none the less the apostle of imperial unity, and in preaching the gospel of self-government for the colonies, he preached it as the one and only road to imperial unity. He regarded responsible government in such a case as that of Canada as being necessary alike 'for the well-being of the Colonies and the security of the mother country', and at the end of his report, having recommended responsible government for Canada, he recorded his 'earnest desire to perpetuate and strengthen the connexion between this Empire and the North American Colonies'. But those who came after, while they adopted and amplified his views as to colonial self-government, left very much out of sight the imperial unity which he had held to be its complement. In course of time, however, the Whig views

lost their savour; steam and telegraphy made communication with the British communities beyond the seas easier and more constant; interest in these communities and knowledge of them was increased, and new forces and new agencies helped to create a new imperialism which eventually found its strongest and ablest exponent in the most conspicuous and creative of all Secretaries of State for the Colonies, Mr. Chamberlain.

Competition in colonial expansion.

Not the least of these forces was the rise of Germany as a competing power overseas. The result of the Franco-German War of 1870 was the consolidation of Germany; and, following the example of other great European peoples, the Germans, having completed their work at home, began to make themselves felt in foreign lands and waters. The stress of German competition began to be fully recognized in this country in the eighties; and between 1880 and 1890 the four new chartered companies, which have already been mentioned, came into existence, the first of them being the British North Borneo Company, which received its charter in 1881. Already, before this time, missionary enterprise, notably David Livingstone's work in Central Africa, had called attention in England and Scotland to lands which had not so far come under any European control, and a sense of responsibility, inspired by religion, strengthened the reaction against a policy of *laissez faire* and non-interference. Finally the young self-governing peoples of the Empire began to put pressure upon the mother country to move forward in the path of empire, in particular the Australians in the Pacific. The outcome was a series of new acquisitions, made in various ways and with various degrees of supremacy. The terms 'British protectorate' and 'British sphere of influence' came to the front, protectorate indicating control as opposed to ownership, control which varies in different cases, from control of foreign relations to administration; and sphere of influence (p. 78) not even indicating control, but only exclusive right of intervention as against any other European Power. We find, too, a more frequent use of the term High Commissioner,

Protectorates: spheres of influence.

to denote the officer who, in relation to a British protectorate, holds the same position as a governor in relation to a British colony ; the governor of this or that colony being usually the High Commissioner for adjoining protectorates. In this sense it has been used in South Africa. The Governor of the Straits Settlements is High Commissioner for the Malay States and for Brunei (Bruni). The Governor of Fiji is High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. One of the lost dependencies of Great Britain and of the Colonial Office is the Ionian Islands. Before their transfer to Greece in 1864, the chief resident British officer was styled not Governor, but High Commissioner, for the islands had not been annexed by and to Great Britain, but were under ' the immediate and exclusive protection ' of Great Britain.

Transference of dependencies to the Colonial from other offices ; extension of its work.

In the year 1867 the Straits Settlements were transferred from the charge of the India Office to that of the Colonial Office. This may be taken as the first case in latter days of the Colonial Office taking over charge of a dependency from another department. But this was a case of the transfer of the administration of a British possession—not a British protectorate—from one administrative office to another administrative office. Most of the modern additions to the British Empire, outside India and the Sudan (so far as the Sudan is a British dependency), when they have not been placed from the first under the Colonial Office, have been transferred from the Foreign Office. They have started under the Foreign Office, as not being adult British dependencies to be administered and controlled by the home agency for colonial administration, and they have been transferred to the Colonial Office according as they have matured in British keeping, or as some indirect agency, such as a chartered company, has ceased to exist or to exercise the powers of government. From the Foreign Office, since 1880, the Colonial Office has taken over Cyprus, the Nyasaland Protectorate, Nigeria, British East Africa, Uganda, Somaliland—which was at an earlier date under the India Office—and finally Zanzibar.

None of these provinces was the result of direct annexation, and they are all still more or less in the status of protectorates, the British tenure of Cyprus being one of occupation and administration under certain conditions laid down by the Anglo-Turkish Convention of 1878. They therefore, in their initial stages, appropriately came within the purview of the Foreign Office, which office, in consequence, for a time supplemented its own particular diplomatic duties by a considerable amount of administrative work. Equally appropriately, as the countries in question and their inhabitants settled down—speaking generally—under British supremacy, and as administrative control grew up, they were transferred to the Colonial Office, as being the office whose rôle is colonial administration. We have therefore to notice a very great modern extension of the administrative work of the Colonial Office, largely due to the transfer to it of dependencies which had been in the keeping of the Foreign or Diplomatic Office, while, side by side with this increase in administrative work, we find the Colonial Office engaged in relations with the self-governing dominions, which it is not easy to distinguish from diplomacy.

Work of the Secretary of State.

When Molesworth was attacking the Colonial Office for its real or imaginary deficiencies, he laid stress on the impossibility of any one man doing justice as secretary of state to the amount and variety of work which devolved upon the Colonial Office. The work of the office at the present day is infinitely greater in amount, and more varied in kind, than when Molesworth made his speeches, and yet no such bitter discontent with its dealings is shown as that of which Molesworth was the mouthpiece. Various reasons may be found for this, including the grant of responsible government, the improvement of communication, and the spread of knowledge; but one may be specially noticed, and that is the creation of larger units throughout the Empire. The result has been not only that greater communities have thus been formed, with correspondingly wider views, more self-contained, more self-

reliant, and therefore less taken up with small issues and petty grounds of complaint; but that, where these larger units have come into existence, the number of channels of official communication with the Secretary of State have been diminished, and the volume of correspondence has in consequence been reduced.

Federal tendency in Crown Colonies.

Federation or union in the groups of self-governing dominions has already been noticed. In 1908, for instance, the Secretary of State corresponded with the Governor of the Cape, the Governor of Natal, the Governor of the Transvaal, and the Governor of the Orange River Colony. In 1910 he corresponded only with the Governor-General of the South African Union. The same tendency may be found on the Crown colony side also. In 1905 there was a colony and protectorate of Lagos, a protectorate of Southern Nigeria, and a protectorate of Northern Nigeria, all under separate administrations. In 1906, Lagos and Southern Nigeria were combined under the title of the Colony and Protectorate of Southern Nigeria, and now the two Nigerias are combined, making one unit instead of three.

Evolution of the Straits Settlements and dependencies since 1867.

Reference has been made above to the Straits Settlements, as having been transferred from the India Office to the Colonial Office in 1867. Their record since that date will well illustrate how greatly the charge of administration, for which the Colonial Office is responsible, has grown, in what guise and by what methods it has grown, and how the growth has to some extent been met by what may be called local centralization. In 1867 the British possessions in the Malay Indies consisted of the islands of Singapore and Penang, off the coast of the Malay Peninsula, and on that peninsula the territory of Malacca and, over against the island of Penang, the territory which bears the name of Province Wellesley. These were the Straits Settlements, i.e. the settlements on the Straits of Malacca, as handed over by the India Office to the Colonial Office. In 1826 the little island of Pangkor, south of Penang, with the adjoining mainland district known as the Dindings, had been ceded by the Sultan of Perak, but

no British occupation followed, and for practical purposes the cession lapsed. Off the coast of Borneo, there was one British possession, the island of Labuan, ceded in 1847 by the Sultan of Brunei. The first civil governor of Labuan was Sir James Brooke, who had already become the ruler of the native territory of Sarawak. Sarawak had been a province of the Sultanate of Brunei, and although when, in 1842, the Sultan handed over the government of the district to Brooke, it thereby came under the exclusive control of a British subject, it had no other connexion whatever with the British Empire. In 1867, therefore, Great Britain held in full ownership the Straits Settlements and Labuan, and had no Malay protectorate whatever. Shortly afterwards, perpetual piracy and disorder in the Malay Peninsula led to British interference. In 1874 Pangkor and the Dindings were again ceded by the Sultan of Perak, and became a part of the colony of the Straits Settlements. At the same time a small strip of Perak was added to Province Wellesley. Far more important, however, than these small acquisitions, was the fact that from this date onwards, beginning with the State of Perak, the rulers of the various Malay states in the southern half of the peninsula were, one after another, induced to accept British residents, agents, or advisers, and, for political and administrative purposes, to come under British control. Subsequently, four of these states, Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang, were federated in 1895, and are now known as the Federated Malay States. In the state of Johor, the near neighbour of Singapore, which had retained more independence than the others, the Sultan has now a British Adviser, and the area of the British protectorate was in 1909 very greatly increased under the terms of the Treaty of Bangkok, which was signed in that year, and transferred from Siam to Great Britain Siamese rights or claims over the Malay States of Kelantan, Tringganu, Kedah, and Perlis, which had hitherto lain outside British intervention. Out in the Indian Ocean the group of the Cocos-Keeling Islands, which had been declared to be

a British possession in 1857, had at one time been placed under the Governor of Ceylon, then under the Governor of the Straits Settlements. These islands were in 1903 finally annexed to and incorporated with the Straits Settlements. The same course had already been taken in 1900 with Christmas Island, another outlying British dependency in the Indian Ocean, due south of Java. In the region of Borneo Labuan continued under a separate Governor until January 1, 1890, when the administration was handed over to the British North Borneo Company, which had acquired from the Sultans of Brunei and Suki a large territory in the north of Borneo, and had, as already stated, been granted a Royal Charter in 1881. In 1905 this arrangement was brought to an end, the Governor of the Straits Settlements being made Governor of Labuan, and finally, on January 1, 1907, Labuan was annexed to the Straits Settlements. Meanwhile, in 1888, a British protectorate was declared over North Borneo, Sarawak, and the native state of Brunei, and in 1905 the Sultan of Brunei, like the Sultans of the states in the Malay Peninsula, accepted a British Resident. The Governor of Labuan had been also Consul-General for Borneo, and in that capacity had been a servant of the Foreign Office as well as of the Colonial Office; but of late years dealings with Borneo, other than Dutch Borneo, have been transferred from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office, illustrating the constantly growing connexion between the British protectorates in Borneo and the administrative side of the British Government; and at the present day the Governor of the Straits Settlements is *ex officio* British Agent for North Borneo and Sarawak, and corresponds on matters connected with these states with the Colonial Office alone. Thus it may be summed up that, with little or no annexation, by a system of protectorates, coupled with the agency of a chartered company, something like a British Malay Empire has gradually come into existence in the last forty years, the nucleus being the British colony of the Straits Settlements, and the authority under the Colonial Office

being centred in the Governor of the Straits Settlements, who has his home at Singapore.

Colonial Agents.

It has been seen that the early British settlements in North America and the West Indies grew up more or less self-governing, largely because of the non-existence of adequate control at home. That, as they increased in importance, and as questions arose from time to time on which they did not see eye to eye with the home authorities, they should wish to have agents or representatives in England to make known their wishes and safeguard their interests was the most natural thing in the world.

'The earliest form of Agency', writes Mr. Doyle in *The English in America*, with reference to the old North American colonies, 'was usually of the nature of a commission appointed to approach the Home Government on some special question. . . . Gradually, as legislative and administrative interference became more frequent and more continuous, the importance of the agency increased. The agent was not always an inhabitant of the colony for which he acted. In some instances he was an English merchant—a proxenos, as one may call him.' [1]

In Long's *History of Jamaica*, which was published in 1774, there is a chapter on 'Agents', which begins with the writer's reflection that

'The keeping of a person in Great Britain under the title of "Agent for the island" is an indication of the little knowledge which either Ministers or Parliament formerly had of the colony affairs and interests, otherwise there could have been no necessity that the colonies should maintain an Agent, at a yearly expense, for the purpose of soliciting the passage of bills, explaining their expediency, obviating the imposition of ruinous duties on their articles of produce, pointing out the means of extending and improving those articles, and for praying removal of grievances.'

He then goes on to say that

'Before a regular agent was appointed for the people of Jamaica, some gentlemen of rank and fashion in England voluntarily became their patrons and advocates

[1] 'The Colonies under the House of Hanover,' p. 104.

on one or two occasions of importance, and rendered them eminent services; for which they received most grateful acknowledgments from the island. The inhabitants afterwards obtained leave from the Crown to appoint one or more agents for soliciting their public affairs with His Majesty's Ministers at the proper Boards. The Crown, by an instruction to the Governor, signified its assent; but limited the Agent's salary or allowance, in the whole, to £300 sterling per annum, which limitation still subsists.'[1]

The Jamaica Agent.

The Jamaica Agent was appointed under Acts passed by the island Legislature, and similarly the Barbados Legislature, in 1691, passed an Act to provide for the expense of an agent to look after their interests in England. But the position of a colonial agent was not always well defined, and in various cases it became open to question whether he was the agent of the government as a whole or only the agent of the popular assembly who found the money for him; whether he was simply the business representative of the colony as a whole or the political representative of the democracy in the colony. Long notices the disputes which arose between the Council and Assembly in Jamaica with regard to the appointment of, and the instructions to, the Agent for the island, and similar difficulties occurred in the North American colonies. That, under special conditions, agents might develop into something not unlike ambassadors is shown by the position which Benjamin Franklin held in England on the eve of the War of American Independence. He came to England as Agent for Pennsylvania, became also Agent for Massachusetts and some other colonies, and may be said to have been the recognized mouthpiece of the wishes and interests of the American colonists before the final severance took place.

Canadian Agents.

When the United States became a separate republic, the system of Colonial Agents was for a while mainly connected with the West Indies; but, as the two Canadian provinces went forward, they felt the want of a representative in England. In 1816 we find Sir John Sher-

[1] Long's *History of Jamaica*, vol. i, chap. ix, pp. 114–15.

brooke, the tactful Governor-in-Chief of Canada at the time, suggesting to Lord Bathurst, Secretary of State for the Colonies, that Lower Canada should have an agent in England under the authority of the Legislature. Lord Bathurst answered to the effect that both Houses of the Legislature must express their wish for such an appointment, and that the Agent must be the representative of both, not of the Assembly alone. In that same year the Legislature of Upper Canada passed an Act to appoint a Provincial Agent to reside in England 'whose duty it may be to solicit and explain the interests of this colony as well in its relations with the United Kingdom as with the sister province of Lower Canada and others'. The salary in this case was to be £500 per annum, the Agent was to be nominated by the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor, he was to hold office during pleasure and to be removable only on the joint address of both Houses of the Legislature. In 1821 the Quebec Assembly passed a Bill nominating James Stuart, afterwards Chief Justice of Canada, but at the time an opponent of the Government, to be Agent for the province, with a salary not exceeding £2,000 per annum. The Bill was thrown out by the Legislative Council, but while it was under discussion it transpired that there was already an Agent of Lower Canada in London, who had been paid in that capacity for years past. He was a subordinate member of the Colonial Office, and received as Agent for Lower Canada £200 per annum. The Assembly very naturally refused to recognize him, on the ground that he was Agent of the Executive Government, not of the people of Lower Canada, and they contended that his salary ought not to be charged against the province. He was, in fact, a purely business agent, nominated by and subordinate to the Government, in no sense the spokesman of the people whose business he transacted.

Agents in the early nineteenth century.

Agents of this kind were not uncommon. Just at this time, in May 1822, a return was made to the House of Commons[1] of the names, status, duties, and salaries of

[1] *Colonial Agents*, House of Commons Return, 377, May 30, 1822.

the Agents for what were styled ' the New Colonies ' of Ceylon, Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, and Malta, all of which colonies or dependencies had accrued to Great Britain in consequence of the French war. The particulars were supplied by the agents themselves. The Agent for Ceylon was no less a person than William Huskisson, who had held the post since 1806, having been appointed by the Governor in Council of Ceylon, with remuneration at the rate of £1,200 per annum, which was paid by the Ceylon Government and was to cover all office expenses. He was at the same time First Commissioner of Woods, Forests, and Land Revenue in England, for which he received £2,000 per annum. His general duties as Colonial Agent for Ceylon were defined as ' To execute all directions received from the Government of Ceylon, and the Secretary of State or the Treasury in this country, in reference to the wants or concerns of that colony, and to bring under the consideration of the two last-mentioned departments all matters which may appear to him requisite in furtherance of the general interests of the colony '. The Agent for the Cape of Good Hope at this date had been appointed by the Governor in 1813, and received £600 to cover all expenses. The holder of the office at the same time was in receipt of £2,200 per annum as ' Secretary to the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India '. His duty was ' to obey all such orders as he may receive from the Governor of the Colony with respect to the conduct of its affairs and the furtherance of its interest in this country '. In all his money dealings on behalf of the colony he was to conform himself to the directions of the Secretary of State. The Agent for Malta, appointed by the Governor, received £600 to cover all expenses, and he held no other office. His duties were to carry out the instructions of the Government of Malta, and it is added that ' in the execution of these instructions it is necessary that he should take the orders of the Secretary of State '. The Agent for Mauritius, also appointed by the Governor, received an inclusive sum of £500. He was a clerk in the Colonial Office, with a salary of £1,125 per annum. His

duties were to carry out the instructions of the Mauritius Government, 'relating to its particular or general wants, its money concerns, and its interests generally. He takes the orders of the Secretary of State, when necessary, regarding the execution of his instructions from the Colonial Government.'

All these agents were purely business and financial agents, acting for Crown colony governments and practically subordinate to the Secretary of State. They were in no sense whatever popular representatives. Consequently, in the case of Lower Canada, which enjoyed representative institutions, the French Canadian Assembly sought for and from time to time found and paid independent men in England to act as their agents and spokesmen. For some years before the Canadian Rebellion of 1837 and Lord Durham's mission, their Agent was John Arthur Roebuck, at that time a violent and aggressive Radical, who, whether in Parliament or out of it, let the world know that he was the representative of a people, not a government.

Return of Agents, 1845.

In 1845 there was another House of Commons Return [1] of 'the Names of the Agents for Colonies at present acting in Great Britain, and recognised as such by the Colonial Office', with their duties and salaries and the authority under which they acted, 'and the name of the Agent-General or Agent for the Crown Colonies,' &c. This date, it will be remembered, was just at the time when responsible government was gradually coming into operation in Canada, to be followed at a little later date by responsible government in Australia and New Zealand, and it will be noted that the term 'Agent for the Crown Colonies' now appears. The number of colonies included in the return is thirty-three, and for twenty-two of those colonies the Agents were two gentlemen, appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and each styled 'Joint Agent-General for Crown Colonies'. March 1833 is given as the date of their appointment, 'upon the abolition of separate agencies for the Crown Colonies and consolida-

[1] *Agents for Colonies*, 623–5, August, 1845.

tion into one General Agency.' From 1833, therefore, must be dated the beginning of the office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies. This list of twenty-two colonies, grouped as Crown colonies, includes New Brunswick and Newfoundland in North America, all the then existing Australian colonies, New Zealand, the Cape, in the West Indies St. Lucia, Trinidad, and British Guiana, acquired through the war with France, and all the other colonies outside the West Indies except Canada, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, which presumably had no agents in England at the time, or at any rate no agents recognized by the Colonial Office. The remaining eleven colonies outside the Crown Colony Agency are all West Indian colonies, having agents appointed in nearly every case by the colonial legislature and under Acts of the colonial legislature. For six of the smaller West Indian colonies the agent was one and the same man. In the fact that all the colonies outside the Crown Colony Agency were at this date West Indian colonies, we have an interesting reminder of the West Indian past—a past of representative institutions and no little self-government. At the present day all these colonies have lost their separate agencies, and have for their business agents in England the Crown Agents for the Colonies, whereas New Brunswick, Newfoundland, the Australian colonies, New Zealand, and the Cape have all gone out of the Crown colony list.

Crown Agents; Agents General; High Commissioners.

From this time onward we have a gradual evolution of the conditions which exist to-day. The colonies which were transformed from Crown colonies into self-governing colonies formed their own business agencies in London, under agents general who took over the business work connected with their respective colonies from the Crown Agents for the Colonies. The colonies, which were rather receding from than advancing towards the stage of self-government, had their agencies incorporated in that of the Crown Agents for the Colonies, the agents thereby becoming, if they had not already become, purely business and financial agents. The Crown Agents for the Colonies

in turn acquired new business from the new colonies and protectorates which in the last thirty or forty years have been added to the British Empire. We then have the further stage of the self-governing colonies being grouped into dominions, and the representative of each group in England being styled High Commissioner—another use of the term of High Commissioner from that which has been already noticed, and we have the agents general of the separate provinces which form the groups either wholly absorbed by, or partly absorbed by, or remaining side by side with the High Commissioner according to the form which the union or federation of each group has taken. It has been an interesting evolution, corresponding to and arising out of the course which the relations between the different colonies and the mother country have taken.

South Africa.

The best illustration will be found in the case of South Africa. The Cape of Good Hope was acquired from the Dutch, and in its inception as a British colony it had, as has been said, its own agent in England, who was, however, purely the business agent of a Crown colony government and in no sense a representative of the people. This agent was absorbed into the general agency for the Crown colonies. After the Cape Colony had become a self-governing colony, though not immediately afterwards, the colony established a separate agency of its own in England under an Agent General for the Cape. Natal became a British colony, and its business was entrusted to the Crown Agents for the Colonies. Again, after Natal entered upon the path of responsible government, an Agent General for Natal was appointed, who took over the work connected with the colony which had previously been transacted by the Crown Agents for the Colonies. The South African War brought in to the empire—for a short time as Crown colonies—the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony. For a short time the Crown Agents for the Colonies acted for these two states. Then the states were given responsible government and for a brief period they had their own agents general. Finally, the four self-governing colonies of the Cape,

Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange River Colony were united; the separate agencies and the separate agents general disappeared, and the South African Union has now one and only one representative in England, the High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa; while for the South African colonies and protectorates which are outside the Union, not self-governing and not under the administration of the British South Africa Company, the business agents in England are the Crown Agents for the Colonies.

Canada.

The Dominion of Canada is not such a complete Union as the Union of South Africa; and the separate provinces, or some of them, have Agents General in England for purely provincial business; but Canada, no less than South Africa, has only one representative for the Dominion as a whole, the High Commissioner for Canada, the first of all the high commissioners for the self-governing dominions. The Commonwealth of Australia is a looser federation than either the Union of South Africa or the Dominion of Canada; and the states which combined for certain specified purposes to form a Commonwealth retain a large proportion of sovereign rights. The present High Commissioner for the Commonwealth is the first of his line, not appointed until towards the end of the first decade of the Commonwealth, and the agents general for the Australian States held their position side by side with and not in subordination to the High Commissioner. New Zealand, too, since the colony took the title of a Dominion, has given to her Agent General the more dignified name of High Commissioner. Newfoundland has hitherto had no representative in this country.

Present Crown Agents.

The House of Commons Return of 1845, as has been seen, included the names of two joint Agents General for Crown Colonies. Of the twenty-two colonies included in the Crown colony list, twelve were in charge of one of these two gentlemen, and ten in charge of the other. At a later date further consolidation was thought desirable, and in 1858 a Senior Crown Agent was appointed. Thenceforward, though there were still two Crown Agents, and

at a later date up to and including the present time three, there was no longer divided charge, in the sense that one man dealt exclusively with some colonies, and the other with others ; but the business was apportioned as between members of a firm with a recognized senior partner. At the present day the Crown Agents are the general business and financial agents in the United Kingdom for some twenty-four colonies or groups of colonies not possessing responsible government and for about half that number of British protectorates. They have still remnants of financial business for some South African and Australasian colonies, dating from the time when those colonies were not in the stage of having their own financial and business agencies. It may be summed up that they are the agents of the colonial governments where the colonies are not self-governing. 'They form part of the general machinery of Crown colony government and are necessarily subject to the instructions of the Secretary of State,' [1] by whom they are appointed. They are entirely and exclusively business agents ; but, at the same time, inasmuch as they act for all the Crown colonies, raise their loans, procure and ship their stores, provide passages for their officers, pay their salaries and their pensions, find consulting engineers for railways and public works, and in a word transact the business of one and all on a more or less uniform system, they are—like the Colonial Office itself—a very valuable link between the widely scattered dependencies of Great Britain which have not self-governing institutions. It has already been noted that in regard to the sugar-producing colonies which employ indentured labour from India, they have taken over some of the duties which were discharged by the old Board of Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners.

High Commissioners.

Unlike the Crown Agents for the Colonies, the high commissioners of the self-governing dominions are not by any means exclusively business agents. In their contribution to the agenda for the Imperial Conference

[1] Parliamentary Paper, *Crown Agents*, Cd. 4473, February 1909, p. vii.

of 1911, the Government of New Zealand went so far as to propose that the high commissioners should be the sole channel of communication between imperial and dominion governments, and that they should have direct access to the Foreign Secretary; in other words, that they should be placed in much the same position as ambassadors. These proposals were not entertained, but it is clear that the high commissioners are the recognized representatives and spokesmen in this country of the younger nations of the Empire. It would be difficult, if not impossible, at the present moment further to define their status, for two reasons. The first reason is that the office and duties of a high commissioner, like every other fact and factor, past or present, in the British Empire, are undergoing a process of evolution. As the people represented grows, so the status of the representative of the people grows also. The second reason is that, apart from the extent of recognition which may be accorded by the Imperial Government to a high commissioner, his powers and position depend upon the views of those by whom he is appointed; and the views of one dominion or the particular government of one dominion at a particular time do not necessarily accord with the views of another. When the relations between the mother country and the self-governing dominions are talked of or discussed in writing, it is commonly assumed that there are two parties only concerned, the mother country being one and the self-governing dominions, taken as a whole, being the other; as though the self-governing dominions formed one homogeneous whole. The young peoples of the Empire are, on the contrary, as distinct from one another as each of them is from the mother country. They regard imperial questions each from their own standpoint; and the value of the Imperial Conference consists in eliciting different points of view, enabling the differences to be appreciated and finding out their greatest common measure.

The first Colonial Conference deserving the name was held in 1887, the year of the Jubilee of Queen The evolution of the

Imperial Conference.[1] Colonial Conference of 1887.

Victoria, in view of the celebration of the Jubilee. It was considered to be a suitable occasion for interchange of views on matters of common interest between representatives of the different parts of the Empire which had taken its present form and shape during the reign of the great Queen. The invitations to the Conference, which were sent out in November 1886 by Mr. Stanhope, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, placed in the forefront of the questions to be discussed better organization of military and naval defences and defence forces, and improvement of communications throughout the Empire. Lord Knutsford, who in 1887 succeeded Mr. Stanhope as Secretary of State, presided over the Conference ; the self-governing colonies were mainly represented by their agents general ; Western Australia and Natal were represented, although they had not at that date received responsible government ; and representatives of some of the Crown colonies were also present at some of the meetings. There was no limit to the representation of each colony, and no formal rules were laid down. The meeting was summoned for friendly discussion, for consulting, not for binding the different governments in any way, and a large number of subjects were considered, a notable feature being a motion by Mr. Hofmeyr, one of the Cape representatives and of Dutch descent, 'to discuss the feasibility of promoting a closer union between the various parts of the British Empire by means of an Imperial tariff of customs, to be levied independently of the duties payable under existing tariffs, on goods entering the Empire from abroad, the revenue derived from such tariff to be devoted to the general defence of the Empire.'

Conference of 1894.

The second Colonial Conference was held at Ottawa in 1894. It was hardly on a level with the previous Conference ; it was less fully attended, more limited in scope, more of an *ad hoc* Conference than its predecessor, being

[1] For an account of the Imperial Conference, or rather series of Conferences, see Keith's *Responsible Government in the Dominions* (1912); *The Imperial Conference*, by Richard Jebb (1911); and the summary given in the *Colonial Office List*.

called very especially to consider the question of laying a submarine cable between Canada and Australia, which question had been raised in 1887. The invitations were sent out by the Canadian, not by the Imperial Government; and though the Imperial Government was represented at the Conference, the representative was Lord Jersey, who had been Governor of New South Wales, and not any member of the Home Ministry. Canada was represented, and so were five out of the six Australian colonies, but Western Australia sent no representative, although the colony had by this time received responsible government. New Zealand was represented, and so was the Cape, although the latter colony was not concerned in the cable question which had led to the Conference. Newfoundland was not represented. The Conference was thus confined to the self-governing provinces of the Empire, and not all of them took part in its deliberations. The proposed Pacific cable was considered and recommended; fast steamer services on the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans were recommended, and resolutions were passed in favour of imperial preference and of removing any obstacles, whether caused by treaty obligations or otherwise, to commercial reciprocity, including the power of making differential tariffs within the Empire and between the different provinces of the Empire. It may be noted that in the resolutions the colonies were referred to as 'the dependencies of the Empire' or 'the self-governing dependencies of the Empire'—the term dependency not yet being discarded.

This Conference, though, as has been stated, it was less fully representative and was confined within narrower limits than either the Conference which went before or those which followed after, had none the less important results. One was the appointment of a committee on which both the Imperial Government and the colonial governments concerned were represented, to deal with the subject of the Pacific cable and the eventual construction of the existing cable under joint management and at joint expense. This was a distinct move forward in the direction of imperial partnership and co-operation.

Another result was a reasoned pronouncement in subsequent dispatches from the then Secretary of State, Lord Ripon, upon preferential and reciprocal treatment, and upon the conduct of commercial negotiations with foreign Powers in cases in which the self-governing dominions might be interested. These dispatches were of much value in defining the policy of the Imperial Government at the time.

Conference of 1897.

Three years after the meeting at Ottawa, the celebration of the sixtieth year of the reign of Queen Victoria, the year 1897, brought the third Colonial Conference. The prime ministers of all the self-governing colonies were invited to be present at the celebration as royal guests, and their presence in London was made the occasion for a Conference, presided over by Mr. Chamberlain, who was now Secretary of State for the Colonies. Canada, the six Australian colonies, New Zealand, the Cape Colony, Natal, and Newfoundland were all represented by their prime ministers. Political relations, commercial questions, and defence, all received attention. A resolution was passed in favour of denouncing at the earliest convenient time any treaties which hampered the freedom of commercial relations between Great Britain and her colonies by conceding to a foreign country most-favoured-nation treatment, and this resolution led shortly afterwards to the denunciation of the commercial treaties with Germany and Belgium. Another resolution suggested preference to the products of the United Kingdom in the markets of the colonies, 'in the hope of improving the trade relations between the mother country and the colonies.' The all-important question of the exclusion of coloured immigrants from the self-governing colonies was discussed; and so was also the question of closer political union between the self-governing colonies and the mother country, involving on the one hand participation by the colonies in the direction of imperial policy, and on the other proportionate contribution to imperial expenditure. Federation of colonies geographically conterminous was favoured; which expression of opinion was followed in

three years' time by the passing of the Act constituting the Commonwealth of Australia. Much prominence was given to naval matters. The First Lord of the Admiralty attended the Conference, and made a statement as to naval defence; while the Prime Minister of the Cape offered on behalf of his government a contribution to the Royal Navy in the form of the cost of a first-class battleship—an offer for which an annual payment was subsequently substituted. This Conference of 1897 more nearly approximated than the previous conferences to the form which the Imperial Conference has now taken, each colony being represented by its Prime Minister, all classes of subjects being discussed and a general agreement being arrived at that similar meetings should be held periodically. On the other hand, the detailed proceedings were not published, and only a summary was laid before Parliament, including the address given by Mr. Chamberlain as President at the opening of the Conference, the statement made by Mr. Goschen as First Lord of the Admiralty, and the resolutions which were actually passed.

Conference of 1902.

The fourth Conference took place in 1902, on the occasion of the Coronation of King Edward VII. Mr. Chamberlain again presided, as Secretary of State for the Colonies; and, as before, the self-governing colonies were represented by their respective prime ministers, who were royal guests for the Coronation. The federation of Australia, however, into a Commonwealth, which had by this time taken place, had the effect of largely reducing the number of representative prime ministers, one appearing on behalf of Australia in lieu of six. In addition to the subjects proposed for discussion by the Imperial Government, the colonies had been invited to suggest additions to the agenda; and on particular questions affecting their special departments some ministers from Canada and Australia, as well as the prime ministers, attended various meetings of the Conference and took part in the discussions. As on the previous occasion, the full proceedings were not published, but the summary which was laid before Parliament included, in addition to the

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President's opening speech and the resolutions which were passed, some papers on special subjects which had been prepared for the use of the Conference. Naval defence was again a leading topic of discussion; the Australasian and South African colonies increased their contributions to the Navy; and Newfoundland offered a contribution to the Royal Naval Reserve. The principle of preferential trade within the Empire was more boldly and definitely asserted than before; and the colonies agreed to give or to continue and increase commercial preference to the mother country, urging the mother country in turn to give similar treatment to colonial products. As regards the Conference itself, a resolution was passed that meetings should be held 'as far as practicable, at intervals not exceeding four years, at which questions of common interest affecting the relations of the mother country and His Majesty's dominions over the seas could be discussed and considered as between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Prime Ministers of the self-governing colonies'; such conferences were to be arranged by the Secretary of State for the Colonies after communication with the prime ministers of the various colonies. Thus a further step forward was made, and the Conference may be said to have been established as a recognized part of the machinery of the Empire, by being made a four-yearly institution. It will be noted that in the resolution which has been quoted, the word 'Dependencies', which was used at the Ottawa Conference, found no place, and the phrase 'the Dominions over the seas' was used side by side with 'self-governing colonies', which latter term was also destined at a later date to disappear. It will be noted, too, that the dramatis personae are given as the Prime Ministers of the self-governing colonies on the one hand, but on the other, not as yet the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, only the departmental minister charged with the business of the colonies.

Scheme for Imperial Council.

In accordance with this resolution, the next Conference, the fifth in the series, was due in 1906, but it was

not actually held until 1907, a change of government having in the meantime taken place in the United Kingdom, with far-reaching consequences. With a view to the coming Conference, Mr. Lyttelton, who was at the time Secretary of State for the Colonies, wrote in April 1905 a circular dispatch to the self-governing colonies, in which he made proposals for giving a more definite form and greater continuity to what had now become a permanent series of meetings between accredited representatives of the Imperial Government and the governments of the self-governing colonies. This dispatch, fruitful and suggestive, though the suggestions were not accepted as they stood, gave a distinct lead towards a wider conception of the relations between the motherland and the younger peoples of the Empire. Mr. Lyttelton proposed to abandon the term 'Colonial Conference' as no longer adequate, and to substitute for it the title of 'Imperial Council'. The permanent members of the Imperial Council would be the Secretary of State for the Colonies as representing the Imperial Government, and the prime ministers of those colonies which were represented at the Conference of 1902, or, in the absence of any prime minister, of a representative appointed *ad hoc* by the colony concerned. These permanent members of the council could be assisted for special purposes by other ministers, attending particular meetings, as they had attended in 1902; and the dispatch further suggested that, when questions arose touching her interests, India also might be represented on the council. The functions of a council thus formed could be left to the natural process of evolution, to development according to circumstances, and any formal or rigid definition at the outset of its powers or constitution was to be deprecated; but, as it would only meet under ordinary conditions at intervals of four years, Mr. Lyttelton proposed that it should be supplemented by a kind of standing Royal Commission, on which all the governments concerned would be represented, any expense in the matter of the secretarial staff being met by the Imperial

Government. The duties of this Commission would be purely advisory; it would act only on reference being made to it by the Imperial Council, or by the Imperial Government and one or more of the colonial governments conjointly; it would supplement but not supersede the Colonial Office, would prepare business for the Imperial Council, and examine business referred to it by the Council. It would in short supply continuity to the Conferences, and during the intervals between the four-yearly meetings keep in evidence the permanent organization indicated by the new title, 'Imperial Council'.

Dominion views on proposed Council.

Here was an outline of an imperial agency, a statement which defined, and proposals which carried forward, what had been done already. The scheme gave the element of continuity which was obviously needed, and at the same time was sufficiently tentative to allow of growth and widening out on whatever lines the future might indicate. The answers to this important dispatch are of much historic interest, as illustrating the point, which has already been emphasized, that the self-governing dominions must not be looked upon as one whole in their relations to the mother country, but as being diverse peoples with widely differing views. The main opposition to Mr. Lyttelton's proposals came from the eldest dominion, Canada. The Canadian Government of the day, Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Ministry, was suspicious of the term 'Imperial Council' as 'suggesting a permanent institution which, endowed with a continuous life, might eventually come to be regarded as an encroachment upon the full measure of autonomous legislative and administrative power now enjoyed by all the self-governing colonies'. If any change of name were to be made, they suggested that 'Imperial Conference' would be less open to objection than 'Imperial Council', and at the Conference of 1907 the title 'Imperial Conference' was adopted. Neither did Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues welcome the proposal for a standing Commission. Here again they could not 'wholly divest themselves of the idea that such a Commission might conceivably

interfere with the working of responsible government,' but they left the matter to be discussed at the coming Conference.

Imperial Conference.

This Conference, held in 1907 and presided over by Lord Elgin as Secretary of State, was memorable in many ways. The proceedings were not held in public, but for the most part they were not treated as confidential, and a full report of the detailed discussions was subsequently laid before Parliament. From South Africa there came as representatives not only the Prime Ministers of the Cape and Natal but also General Botha, the Prime Minister of the Transvaal, lately adopted into the family of the self-governing colonies of the Empire. The subjects raised in Mr. Lyttelton's dispatch were keenly and lengthily debated, and on no occasion was there clearer evidence that the point of view of one dominion or of the representative of one dominion may be wholly opposed to the point of view of another. It may perhaps be summed up that Mr. Deakin, as the spokesman of Australia, took for his text equality of partnership, urging that the Conference was and should be recognized as a conference between governments, and not between dominion governments on the one hand and on the other one department of the Imperial Government, urging further as the complement of this view that there should be some such organization as has been indicated in the standing Commission of Mr. Lyttelton's dispatch, which should be wholly apart from the Colonial Office and be the servant of and under the control of all the governments concerned in equal measure. A widely different view was that of which Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the mouthpiece on behalf of Canada. This was the point of view which had already been outlined in the answer from Canada to Mr. Lyttelton's dispatch, the point of view of non-interference and dislike of any innovation which might lead to outside authority and control. Eventually the future constitution of the Conference was definitely laid down. As already stated, the title of Imperial Conference was agreed to, four years were retained as the interval between the meetings; the

Conference was recognized as a meeting between governments, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and not the Secretary of State for the Colonies being made *ex officio* President, but the Secretary of State being made an *ex officio* member, to take the chair in the absence of the President, and to make arrangements for the meetings after communication with the prime ministers of the dominions who would be the other *ex officio* members of the Conference. It will be remembered that in the Conference of 1902 other ministers had taken some part in the discussions in addition to the prime ministers, and prior to the meeting of 1907, a wish had been expressed that a similar course should be taken at the coming Conference. The question was left for the Conference itself to decide, and it was laid down that such other ministers as the respective governments might appoint should be members of the Conference, but that as a general rule on each subject for discussion there should be only two spokesmen for each government, and that in every case each government should have one vote only. It was further decided that there should be a permanent secretarial staff to keep the different governments informed in the intervals between the Conferences on matters which had been or might be subjects of discussion and generally to attend to and correspond on matters relating to the Conference ; but this secretariat was to be directly under the charge of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, not a separate organization under the joint control of the different governments. Finally it was decided that urgent matters which could not wait for the ordinary and periodical Conference, and matters of minor importance or involving technical detail, should be dealt with by subsidiary Conferences attended by specially appointed representatives of the different governments. It was under this provision that a special and very important Defence Conference was subsequently held in 1909, at which considerable advance was made in regard to the amount and methods of contributions by the self-governing dominions to the naval strength of the Empire,

Subsidiary conferences : defence.

Canada, as there represented,[1] and Australia deciding in favour of a policy of building and owning ships of their own to supplement the Royal Navy, while New Zealand preferred to continue a direct contribution in money to the Royal Navy, coupled with the gift of a warship of the *Indomitable* class, in accordance with an offer which had been previously made by the New Zealand Government and had in large measure given rise to the Defence Conference. Similarly a subsidiary Conference was held in 1910 on the subject of copyright.

The Defence Conference of 1909 dealt with military as well as naval defence (p. 217). The subject had been before the main Conference of 1907, and a resolution had then been adopted in favour of a General Staff for the whole Empire. Many other subjects were discussed in 1907, such as judicial appeals, naturalization, emigration, trade marks and statistics, and company law ; and the resolutions passed in 1902 on the subject of preferential trade within the Empire were reaffirmed by the representatives of the dominion governments, but not by the Imperial Government.

Results of Conference of 1907 : the Dominions.

The net result of the Conference of 1907, apart from the particular questions which were discussed at it, may be said to have been greatly to raise and emphasize the status alike of the Conference itself and of the self-governing provinces of the Empire. From this time we date the name of Imperial Conference, the name of dominions as a generic term for the self-governing colonies, in order to distinguish them from the Crown colonies and emphasize their adult nationhood, the creation and the naming of the separate Dominions Department of the Colonial Office, the creation of a secretariat in connexion with the Imperial Conference, provision for subsidiary conferences on special questions, the nomination of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom as *ex officio* Chairman of the Imperial Conference, denoting the fact that the meeting is now a formal meeting between governments with

[1] It will be remembered that the naval policy of Canada in 1909 was the policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's government (see Vol. IV, Chap. XVI).

governments on equal terms, in lieu of a more or less informal gathering for personal interchange of views between representatives of colonial governments on the one side and on the other the departmental minister in England, who for the time being has charge of the colonies. In short, in 1907, a definite constitution was evolved, and the Imperial Conference became once for all a recognized and permanent agency for meeting the new conditions of the Empire, those new conditions being the grouping of the self-governing colonies into larger units, their growth in wealth and population, and their attainment of the position of nations.

Conference of 1911.

This grouping had been carried further by the time when the sixth Conference was held in 1911. On this occasion, as had not been the case in 1907, the Conference once more synchronized with, or as a matter of fact slightly preceded, a great State ceremonial, the Coronation of His Majesty King George V. Two years previously, in 1909, the Act for the Union of South Africa had been passed, and in consequence South Africa at the 1911 Conference was represented as one unit, not as three. General Botha, who in 1907 had taken his seat as Prime Minister of the Transvaal, now came as Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa. There were thus five prime ministers from the overseas dominions, representing Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland ; and, unless the future has in store the union of Newfoundland with Canada, or some further federation in the Pacific seas, it may be taken that finality in the representation of the dominions has at length been reached. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom for the first time presided at the large majority of the meetings ; and not only were the prime ministers of the dominions accompanied in each case by either one or two members of their cabinets, but the different cabinet ministers in this country, who in 1907, had largely participated in the Conference, in 1911, to a greater extent than before, took over each his special item in the agenda.

Through the agency of the secretariat, the business for the Conference had been more carefully arranged and more fully digested than on previous occasions; and in some at any rate of the dominion parliaments there had been debate on the resolutions to be put forward. In some quarters, both in the United Kingdom and beyond the seas, a desire had been manifested further to reconstitute the Colonial Office, and either to divide it practically into two offices, though remaining in charge of one and the same minister, or to remove the Dominions Department and the Imperial Secretariat wholly out of the Colonial Office and place them preferably under the Prime Minister. The feeling which dictated either proposal was that the self-governing dominions, being on a footing equal and not subordinate to the mother country, should in no way be associated with the subordinate Crown colonies, and that the business connected with the dominions, or at any rate so much of the dominions' business as came within the scope of the Imperial Secretariat, should be in charge of the head of the Imperial Government, who would deal with the heads of the dominions' governments. But Canada, as before, was not disposed to disturb the *status quo*; the existing arrangements of the Colonial Office were left unchanged; and a proposal to constitute a standing committee of the Imperial Conference, which was made by Mr. Harcourt on behalf of the Imperial Government, in order to meet as far as possible the wishes of some of the dominions, was withdrawn in the absence of unanimous support. A still colder reception was given to a more ambitious scheme put forward by Sir Joseph Ward, Prime Minister of New Zealand. On the agenda paper New Zealand had fathered a resolution to the effect that 'there should be an Imperial Council of State, with representatives from all the constituent parts of the Empire, whether self-governing or not, in theory and in fact advisory to the Imperial Government on all questions affecting the interests of His Majesty's Dominions overseas'. At the Conference, the New Zealand prime minister enunciated a rather different proposal: one

Proposals for reconstitution of Colonial Office and for Imperial Council of State.

for what he styled a Parliament of Defence, to which the self-governing dominions as well as the mother country should elect representatives, and from which and responsible to which an Executive Council of fifteen should be elected. This Parliament, he suggested, should deal from the Imperial Defence point of view with foreign relations, and questions of peace and war, deciding upon the necessary expenditure, but not having, in the first instance at any rate, powers of taxation for raising the funds to cover the expenditure, which funds would, roughly speaking, be contributed on the basis of population. The proposal represented, somewhat vaguely and prematurely, the views of the advanced school of Imperialists, and Sir Joseph Ward received no support from the other members of the Conference.

The Conference and defence.

The general tone of the Conference was in fact conservative. There was no general inclination to make any marked change of policy or of procedure. On the other hand, there was a very clear and general advance in the direction of business-like co-operation, as was shown by the fact that the members of the Conference discussed questions of defence in secret conclave with the Committee of Imperial Defence, being given full cognizance of the foreign relations of the Empire and being placed in a position to appreciate more fully than before the nature and the difficulty of international questions. This was of peculiar importance, bearing in mind that the Commonwealth of Australia was represented by Labour Ministers, and that Labour and its representatives must in the coming time play a constantly growing part in imperial politics. In regard to military and naval matters, the results of the Conference of 1911 were to summarize and make clear the action which had been taken since and in consequence of the Defence Conference of 1909, and in particular to define the status of the Canadian and Australian navies, their relations to the Royal Navy, and the stations which will form the 'sphere of influence' of His Majesty's Canadian and His Majesty's Australian ships. On other questions, without going into detail, it may be said

generally that even when no definite solution of difficulties was achieved, something was done towards a better understanding; and in some directions there was a very distinct advance. Thus agreement was reached as to the constitution of an Imperial Court of Appeal; without making any marked new departure, it was decided to add two new Lords of Appeal whose services should be available in either division of the Imperial Court of Appeal, in other words, either in the House of Lords or in the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and on the difficult question of naturalization a compromise proposed by the Imperial Government was accepted, whereby the five years' residence which is required by the imperial statute in order to qualify for imperial naturalization may be spent anywhere in the British Empire, instead of being confined to the United Kingdom.

Imperial Court of Appeal.

A discussion on the much debated subject of the Declaration of London led to a resolution emphasizing once more very definitely and distinctly the necessity for consulting the dominion governments in regard to international agreements affecting the dominions, prior to entering on negotiations with a view to such agreements (p. 83), and to a promise that, in the case of old treaties binding the dominions in commercial matters, the Powers with whom the treaties were made should be approached with a view to substituting new treaties in which the dominions would be given the option of adherence and withdrawal; while in connexion with merchant shipping and the employment of Lascar sailors, the general subject of the treatment of British Indians in the dominions was raised, and Lord Crewe, as Secretary of State for India, put the case of India and her people with all the more force in that he had lately been Secretary of State for the Colonies.

International agreements affecting Dominions.

One outcome of the Conference was the appointment, at the instance of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, of a Royal Commission, consisting of representatives at once of the mother country and of the self-governing dominions, to investigate and report upon the trade and natural resources of each part of the Empire represented at the

Royal Commission on trade and resources.

Conference, and to recommend 'by what methods consistent with the existing fiscal policy of each part, the trade of each part with the others may be improved and extended'. The report of this Commission was intended to be available for discussion at the Imperial Conference, in 1915 (see Chap. IX). Finally it may be noted in regard to future Conferences that a resolution was adopted, contemplating the possibility of holding either the main Conference or a subsidiary Conference in one or other of the self-governing dominions.

General view of imperial organization.

Having now brought the story of the Imperial Conference down to the present day, it remains to sum up what has been said, and to take a bird's-eye view of the British Empire and its organization as a whole. One half of the British Empire is mainly in the temperate zones, it consists of the self-governing dominions now formed into groups and grown into nations, dealing with the mother country on the footing of partnership and constantly increasing equality. The other half of the Empire consists in the main of tropical dependencies inhabited by coloured races. But there are exceptions to this general statement. The Mediterranean colonies, for instance, which, as a matter of fact, are rather outposts than colonies, are not in the tropics and are not the homes of coloured races. At the other end of the earth the distant colony of the Falkland Islands is a pure white colony, in a climate somewhat resembling the wind-swept parts of our own island. Nor again in the tropics themselves is white settlement wholly wanting, as is shown by the fact that white British families have been domiciled in the West Indies for many generations. All these dependencies, other than India, have usually been included under the generic term Crown colonies, and India itself is the greatest of Crown colonies, though not called by the name.

Crown colonies.

It has been seen that the grouping process, the forming of larger units, which has been carried so far and so successfully in the self-governing dominions, is also taking place in the Crown colonies; but this fact, and the use of the general term Crown colonies, must not be allowed

to obscure the truth that these dependencies are most varied and most diverse. Among them are semi-self-governing colonies, colonies which have representative institutions without responsible government. In fact, the correct name, which covers the whole class, and which has been officially adopted, is not 'Crown colonies' but 'colonies not possessing responsible government'. Some of the West Indies, as has already been stated, have constitutions which date back from the early days of British settlement. Barbados has much history behind its elected Assembly. The Bahamas and, north of the West Indian area, Bermuda have their miniature parliaments with elected representatives; while British Guiana has a constitution which is in part a legacy from Dutch times. In certain other colonies there is an elected element in the legislature, but the Constitution provides for a government majority actual or potential, and these constitutions again vary as widely as the colonies are distant from each other. Mauritius, Fiji, Jamaica, among others, are all in this category, and the Legislative Council of Ceylon now includes elected representatives. The ordinary and traditional constitution of a Crown colony consists of the Governor, an Executive Council, and a nominated Legislative Council, as in the Straits Settlements, for instance, or the Gold Coast or Trinidad; but there are some Crown colonies which have no Legislative Council whatever—Gibraltar is one of them, and here all power both executive and legislative is vested in the Governor.

Differences in character of Crown colonies.

As they differ in constitutions, so the Crown colonies differ in kind. Some are of the nature of military outposts and garrisons, and even they differ widely among themselves. Gibraltar, Malta, and Bermuda all have soldier governors nominated by the War Office. At Gibraltar, a fortress pure and simple, it has been seen that the Governor is absolute. Malta, on the other hand, which came into British keeping by the free will of its inhabitants, has been the scene of repeated constitutional changes, and Bermuda has its old constitution. Others of the Crown colonies are at once fortresses and great trading

centres, notably Singapore and Hong Kong, the volume of trade passing through the port of Hong Kong being greater than that of almost any other port in the Empire. Others are homes of tropical production, such as the sugar colonies, including the West Indies, Mauritius, and Fiji, or the West African colonies and protectorates with their palm-oil and rubber; or Ceylon with its varied resources, including tea and coco-nuts. Mineral products, too, are in evidence, from tin in the Malay Peninsula to asphalt in Trinidad.

Differences in tenure of dependencies.

Equally varied is the tenure by which England holds these dependencies. As has been pointed out already, some are colonies and some are protectorates; and the protectorates are of varying degrees and kinds, including, in one instance at least, a joint protectorate with a foreign Power; for the Pacific Island group of the New Hebrides is under an Anglo-French condominium, somewhat parallel to which in appearance, though not in fact, is the Anglo-Egyptian control of the Sudan. Cyprus is occupied and administered by Great Britain under the terms of a treaty with Turkey. Wei-hai-wei and part of the mainland territory of Hong Kong are held on lease from China. The High Commissioner for the Western Pacific has in his charge Pitcairn Island, which the mutiny of the *Bounty* made in effect a kind of British colony, though for more than a hundred years it was not in any sense under the British Government; while on the other hand, in the South Atlantic, midway between the Cape of Good Hope and Cape Horn, Tristan da Cunha was annexed as far back as 1816, when Napoleon was at St. Helena; but though a British possession, it is no more than a derelict island where a handful of British subjects are occasionally visited and live in a kind of peaceful anarchy.

The Crown colonies, then, resemble one another in not being fully self-governing or in not being self-governing at all. Otherwise they are far from homogeneous; they differ in kind, in tenure, in form of government. In all, the central figure is the Governor, who is not only, as in the self-governing dominions, the nominal head of the

government and the authorized channel of communication with the Colonial Office, but is in fact as well as in name the chief executive officer, and whose power, except in the few cases where there is an elected majority in the legislature, is paramount, and who in turn is subject to the paramount power of the Secretary of State for the Colonies on this side the water. Only some of the Crown colonies, the Eastern colonies, with the example of India before them, and rich enough to pay for an administration modelled on the lines of India, are officered by fully developed civil services recruited on the competitive system. Elsewhere the administrative staff is, as a general rule, supplied in the lower grades by local appointment, in the upper grades by nomination of the Secretary of State. For all these dependencies the Colonial Office is not merely the domicile of ultimate control. It is the great connecting link which gives to diverse elements and scattered units the continuity and outline of uniformity without which the fabric could not be held together.

Relations of Colonial Office with external organizations.

It must not be overlooked by those who are interested in British colonial administration that in its dealings with the Crown colonies the Colonial Office in a growing degree welcomes and receives help from various agencies and committees, official and unofficial. Among government departments the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew have been conspicuously helpful in developing the agricultural resources of the tropical colonies; and the Imperial Department of Agriculture for the West Indies, to which those colonies owe much, including the revival of the cotton industry, may be considered as a child of Kew. The Scientific and Technical Department of the Imperial Institute is available for investigation of colonial products, both mineral and agricultural, and not for the tropical colonies alone. The great advance which has of late years been made in medical science as bearing upon the tropical dependencies of Great Britain, and bids fair to revolutionize conditions of life in the tropics, is recognized and supported by schools, bureaus, and committees, all for the purpose of investigating the causes and finding

the remedies of tropical diseases, whether of men or animals (Chap. VII). All these agencies are in some sort linked to the Colonial Office. A Colonial Survey Committee sits at the Colonial Office to promote a more accurate and technical knowledge than was previously available, of the lands which that office has to administer and dispose, especially in tropical Africa ; and, once more, wholly unconnected with the Colonial Office, but yet of no little use to it, as presenting outside views with special knowledge, are associations representing particular colonies or groups of colonies, such as—to take the oldest of these associations —the West India Committee, first established in the middle of the eighteenth century.

Relations of various government offices with certain dependencies.

In England, at the heart of the Empire, the Home Office deals in the main with the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands, though the Governors of Jersey and Guernsey are soldiers, nominated by the War Office. Outside the home waters, the India Office, with its Secretary of State and Council, deals with India. All matters relating to Egypt, where Great Britain has more than purely diplomatic relations, and all matters relating to the Sudan, where she has joint authority with Egypt, are handled by the Foreign Office, which thus still retains some functions outside and beyond diplomatic dealings with foreign and wholly independent nations. The Admiralty, we have seen, has a dependency in Ascension Island. The Board of Trade has lighthouses on some rocky islets.

Conclusion.

But outside India, and excluding what may be called the British sphere of interest in Egypt and the Sudan, to the Colonial Office is assigned the whole charge of the British Empire overseas. The whole of the sphere of settlement comes within its range and is assigned to the Dominions Department of the office, now clearly and definitely marked from the other side of the office, as having mainly duties which are more akin to diplomacy than to administration. Linked to this department is the organization for the Imperial Conference, and side by side with it are the high commissioners for the self-governing dominions, the whole constituting an Imperial

Agency in the making, so far as the Empire consists of self-governing peoples. Still greater is the volume of work which falls to the administrative branch of the Colonial Office, as is shown by the number and variety of the Crown colonies, to which reference has just been made. It would be impossible in history to find a parallel, to discover a government office dealing with the outside provinces of an empire whose duties were so multifarious and whose connexions were so far-reaching. There has been abundant criticism from time to time of British methods at home and abroad, and there has no doubt been room for criticism ; but with it all the Empire has grown and the agency for handling the Empire has grown also ; and if impatient critics have now and again held the agency to be behind the time, it has at least stood for continuity and for tradition, for linking the new to the old, which has been a priceless source of strength to the British race. The main problem of empire from the earliest times to the present day has been how to hold together territories and peoples at a long distance from one another. The forces of science, steam, and electricity are at a continually accelerated pace eliminating distance ; and the difficulties of the future must inevitably be widely different from those of the past. The great safeguard of the British Empire, the one sure ground of confidence for the future, is that the Empire itself and its organization has been the result of growth, that its system, if it can be called a system, possesses more elasticity, is more capable of being adapted to changing conditions, than any other which the world has yet seen.

CHAPTER II

THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND ITS AGENCIES

By R. M. Barrington-Ward

From the earliest times the existence of independent states has implied the necessity for mutual communications between those states. Even in a less civilized and complex age than our own, diplomacy, in however crude a form, was an essential part of the equipment of the ancient royal household or republic. From the heroic age onwards we find a system of heralds or King's envoys, gradually increasing in importance and elaborateness. With the extension of the territories and commerce of sovereign states and the corresponding growth in armaments, the conduct of foreign affairs tended to become less a matter of spasmodic decisions from time to time, and more a reasoned and continuous policy. In England the King, at an early time, directed the course of his relations with foreign powers by means of special envoys, sent on occasions to the continental and other courts, and of a secretary, who was, however, concerned equally with home affairs. The earliest mention of a secretary to the Sovereign occurs in the reign of Henry III, in 1253. A second secretary seems to have been appointed in 1433. The necessity for making a distinction between these two officers gave rise to the term 'principal' secretary. A further development was reached in the reign of Henry VIII, when, in 1539, the office of 'King's Principal Secretary' was divided between two persons of equal rank and duties. Each of these now presided over a department, and each had his own under-secretaries and staff. One department was called the 'Northern', the other the 'Southern'. The Northern department included within its province the Low Countries, Germany, Den-

mark, Sweden, Poland, and Russia, and the Southern department included France, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Turkey. The Secretariat of State was, and still is, a truly collegiate office—that is to say, that any one of the present five secretaries of state is fully competent to discharge the duties of any other.

Administrative improvements.

The division of the Administration of Foreign Affairs into two departments continued on into the eighteenth century. It was a system, however, which occasioned the greatest inconvenience and delay, and, on more than one occasion, the loss or injury of highly important public documents. Furthermore, the distinction drawn was somewhat arbitrary; it was found that in many ways the work of one office overlapped that of the other. The consequent confusion was not diminished by the fact that the two departments were housed in different buildings, and that a period of great expansion of trade and territories had much increased the pressure of business relating to foreign affairs. The system was accordingly reorganized in 1782. The terms 'Northern' and 'Southern' were discontinued and the duties divided between the 'Home' and 'Foreign' departments. The care of Ireland and the colonies was entrusted for a time to the former department. On March 27, 1782, Charles James Fox was appointed the first Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and he duly notified the representatives of foreign Powers of the change in a circular-letter. No mention of it is made in the minutes of the Privy Council or in the departments themselves. The reorganization, therefore, was regarded as purely administrative, but it was a change 'of great importance in the history of the departments of the Government'. 'Home and Foreign affairs are recognized for the first time as two distinct provinces of administration, and though in theory the work of all secretaries of state is interchangeable, from this time forth, as successive secretaryships have been brought into existence, special functions have been assigned to each. They are recognized as departmental chiefs, not as channels for communicating the intentions

of the King in Council.'[1] From the appointment of Fox, therefore, may fairly be dated the Foreign Office in its modern form. Since that date, through successive steps of administrative improvement too numerous to mention, the same principle of a separate department presided over by a minister has been observed.

The principal officials.

Like the other secretaries of state, the Foreign Secretary is a member of the Cabinet and is responsible to Parliament. He is assisted by the Parliamentary Under-Secretary and the Permanent Under-Secretary. The former is a member of Parliament and holds his office subject to his continuance in Parliament as the representative of a constituency. He assists the Foreign Secretary in the House, and has frequently to take his place there for minor debates or for the purpose of answering questions, when the numerous and pressing duties of the Foreign Secretary prevent his personal attendance. When the Foreign Secretary is a peer, the Under-Secretary's position is even more responsible. The Permanent Under-Secretary is, as his title implies, a permanent non-political official. He is often, though not necessarily, chosen from the staff of the Foreign Office. He presides over the Financial Department, which is concerned with the preparation of the annual estimate, with salaries, allowances, and pensions, and with appointments in the diplomatic service. Though this work is mainly of a routine kind, yet the chief permanent official is in a position of considerable influence and responsibility. 'The theoretical relation between the political chief and his permanent subordinate is a simple one. The political chief furnishes the lay element in the concern. His function is to bring the administration into harmony with the general sense of the community, and especially of Parliament. . . . He is also a critic charged with the duty of rooting out old abuses. . . . The permanent officials, on the other hand, are to give their advice upon the questions that arise, so as to enable their chief

[1] Sir W. Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, 1908 ed., vol. ii, part 2, Introd., p. xiii.

to reach a wise conclusion and keep him from falling into mistake. . . . In short, the chief lays down the general policy, while his subordinates give him the benefit of their advice and attend to the details.' It is clear that in these conditions the permanent official must often exercise to all intents an executive authority in determining policy, backed up as he is by long experience and an intimate knowledge of the precedents. The permanent official's 'advice' is often the minister's 'policy'. 'It is easy enough', adds the writer quoted above, 'to state a principle of this kind, but in practice it is very hard to draw the line.'[1] A newly appointed Foreign Secretary must inevitably depend largely on the skill and experience of his permanent subordinate, who supplies the element of continuity essential to a stable national policy.

Foreign Office departments.

Three Assistant Under-Secretaries superintend the workings of the five departments which carry on the day-to-day relations of the British Government with the governments of other Powers.[2] The care of these relations is distributed among the departments in question, roughly, on a geographical basis, each being responsible for a particular region. The department for Eastern Europe has assigned to it business relating to Russia and the Balkan States, to Persia, Afghanistan, Central Asia, and Egypt; the department for Western Europe has to do with the Western European States and Morocco; the Far Eastern department is responsible for China, Japan, and Siam; the American department for North, South, and Central America, the Pacific Islands, and the West Indies; and the African department for Africa, with the exception of Egypt, the Sudan, and Morocco.

In addition there are five departments responsible for the conduct of other affairs arising out of foreign policy. The Treaty department prepares the drafts of the treaties that may from time to time be required. This department has the duty of seeing that such treaties are in keeping with the general trend of relations with foreign Powers,

[1] A. L. Lowell, *The Government of England*, 1908 ed., vol. i, p. 182.

[2] See *Foreign Office List*.

and that they do not conflict with other treaty obligations of the Imperial Government. Orders in Council are looked after by this department, which is also concerned with questions of nationality and naturalization, and with questions arising from such matters as ceremonial, which naturally plays a large part in all public manifestations of the diplomatic connexion between one state and another. Treaties, correspondence, State documents, and confidential papers are deposited in the library of the Foreign Office under the care of the librarians, on whom also devolves the duty of writing memoranda on historical events, international cases, and treaty questions. The two remaining departments are the Consular and Commercial. These are closely connected and are under the supervision of the Controller of Consular and Commercial Affairs. The Consular Department carries on correspondence with the ministers, diplomatic representatives, and consuls abroad on matters which have a more direct bearing on political interests and affairs. The Commercial Department keeps in touch with the same agents on strictly commercial matters. To this department are sent the statistical, sanitary, and other reports received from the British consuls and agents in other countries. It is the link between the Foreign Office and the Board of Trade, to whom it communicates the varied reports it receives, thus bringing the information more directly within the reach of the British trader, for whose benefit largely it has been collected and classified.

The Diplomatic Service.

From the permanent establishment of the office in Downing Street, the attention turns naturally to the agencies abroad, on which, to a very great extent, depend the success of British policy and the support of British interests among the conflicting and competitive claims of the nations of the world. The representative of His Britannic Majesty occupies a position of trust and responsibility that is exceptional even among the many responsible offices that find a place in the list of the public services. Not only is he the personal representative of the King, and so the guardian of all that pertains to the royal

and national dignity in the eyes of a foreign people, but he is also the resident minister, who must faithfully interpret and put into action the orders transmitted to him by authorities at home. The cables may bring and do bring him the most voluminous 'instructions'; but reliance is placed in him to act on them with perfect confidence and address, and to preserve in so doing the spirit of what are often vague and variable counsels, born of perplexity in the official breast in London. Further, the diplomatic and consular services form the Intelligence Department of the Foreign Office, the eyes and ears of the State. They demand an Odyssean capacity for discovering the riddle of a foreign government's intentions and for reading rightly the face of events. The diplomatic eye must, where necessary, see through the most authoritative of denials.

Recruitment for the services.

To state these requirements is to show at once that the diplomatic service must be recruited from an exceptional class of men. The Entrance Examination demands a high standard for success; candidates are submitted to a very strict test in the knowledge of at least three foreign languages, in addition to a number of other subjects.[1] A further requirement is the possession of independent means. Successful candidates enter on a period of two years' probation without pay before they receive a regular appointment in the service. Candidates for a post in the salaried consular service begin as a rule by way of a Far Eastern or Levant student interpretership.[2] Student interpreters undergo a course of training in law and foreign languages before proceeding to their destinations abroad, and do not begin to draw a salary as assistants until they have passed the requisite examination before the University authorities. On their appointment as assistants, they receive a salary of £300 a year, and are distributed for service in the diplomatic missions and consulates. Success in two further examinations on the language and recent history of the country in which they have resided qualifies for promotion to the rank of

[1] See *Foreign Office List.*

[2] Ibid.

vice-consul, after which the individual may rise gradually, according to his merits, to the rank of consul-general.

The organization of an embassy.

The British embassies or missions abroad are arranged in four classes. In the first class are included the embassies to the nine great Powers, the principal national representative being styled 'Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary'. The second and third classes consist of missions accredited to the less important countries, where the official title of the chief of the mission is 'Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary' or, in some cases in the third class, 'Minister Resident' or, as in Abyssinia, Consul-General with local rank of Envoy Extraordinary. In Egypt, which needs more particular treatment later, Great Britain is represented by an 'Agent and Consul-General'. A country where the chief diplomatic representative is only a Chargé d'Affaires, with the rank of Councillor, comes under the fourth class. Some account of the organization of a first-class embassy is necessary to complete this brief outline of the Diplomatic Service. There are minor differences between one embassy and another in the organization and nature of the staff, but it is possible to set down a roughly accurate description for the present purpose. The head of the organization is, of course, the Ambassador. His second in command is the Councillor of the Embassy, who is assisted by a First Secretary and four or five Second and Third Secretaries. There are also one or more honorary Attachés, serving their term of probation. These form the purely diplomatic side of the staff. Other national interests are represented by the Commercial, the Naval, and Military Attachés. An Archivist has charge of the records of the embassy, and in the principal capitals a chaplain and a doctor are attached.

The Consular Service.

The Consular Corps consists of two divisions, the salaried and unsalaried, the latter being the more numerous. British commerce has found its way into almost every market in the world, and agencies for the protection of our trade and traders have, in consequence, been established in hundreds of towns throughout many

countries. In some cases the importance of the interests involved has justified the appointment of a salaried consul or vice-consul, a British subject, selected by the Foreign Office; but in others it has been found sufficient to appoint an official, often a foreigner, who receives no salary but a small fee or allowance for office expenses. On the consular agents falls not only the duty of protecting British subjects and trade, but also of furnishing reports on trade and information as to outbreaks of disease; further, they may be called upon to undertake quasi-diplomatic work, when, as occasionally happens, some previously insignificant port or town becomes the centre-point of an international difference. At important centres of trade and travel a consul-general performs these duties, aided by one or more vice-consuls and a staff of clerks. Elsewhere consuls and vice-consuls, paid or unpaid, pro-consuls, and consular agents conduct the necessary business. Not the least part of this is concerned with legal transactions. A consul may have to deal with questions arising in connexion with shipping, as, for instance, the sale, mortgage, or registration of a ship, marine protests, and the engagement or release of seamen. He possesses, according to his position in the service, either the authority to register *lex loci* marriages or a consular marriage warrant, which gives him full powers within the limits laid down by Act of Parliament and by certain Orders in Council.

In countries such as China, Persia, and Turkey, where by treaty consular courts of law have been established with jurisdiction over British subjects, the administration of justice is carried out by judges who are counted as members of the Consular Service and are appointed by the Secretary of State. Thus at Constantinople, in addition to the ordinary consular officials, there are a British Judge and Assistant Judge, a Legal Dragoman (who is also a consul), and the necessary staff of a law court; a jailer also figures in the list. The Consular Service as a whole has not the same glamour surrounding it as the Diplomatic Service.

As must always be the case, when this aspect of the political and the commercial are compared, the latter suffers in the comparison. A great deal of exceedingly useful and very thankless work is performed by the consuls, and the valuable information as well as the protection afforded by them render great service to British trade. Furthermore, in countries where there is no ordinary political representative of the Government, the consul performs diplomatic functions as well. This is particularly the case where British control has asserted itself in a weakly governed country and a 'sphere of influence' has been established.

Spheres of influence.

The 'sphere of influence' is a modern term for an ancient practice. Speaking generally, it is of two kinds. It arises often in cases where a native state, adjoining a frontier of one of the Powers, is in a turbulent condition through lack of respect or recognition of the central authority on the part of the country districts. In such a case it becomes necessary for the Power interested to assist the central government and to make some attempt at rebuilding an orderly structure to replace ruins which may prove dangerous. A state in the condition described is a political and commercial danger to its neighbour. Lack of control means the possibility of raids and unrest on the frontier; lawlessness means danger to the foreigner who enters the country for purposes of trade or travel. Thus the neighbouring government is doubly concerned to support the native government's influence or prestige and preserve its independence, whether against its turbulent countrymen or the advances of another Power. In the second place a 'sphere of influence'—the phrase is here somewhat vague—may mean a region such as China, where, for instance, Britain, together with other Powers, claims certain exceptional commercial facilities. These treaties have been entered into with the Chinese Government to secure favoured treatment for British subjects within certain geographical limits, and the British Government, through its agents, must see that their interests are supported elsewhere in the general competi-

tion among the subjects of other countries who are engaged in the commercial exploitation of virgin territory. Considerable responsibility thus devolves upon the resident British consul.

Egypt and the Sudan.

The status of Egypt might perhaps be described as a variant from the usual type of ' sphere of influence ', the control in this case being more direct. The recent history of Egypt affords the clearest explanation of the position of affairs there. Egypt was, and nominally is, a province of the Ottoman Empire. Till 1841 it was ruled by a Vali, or Governor, but this office was in that year made hereditary in the person of Muhammad Ali, under the title of Khedive. Muhammad Ali had attempted to sever Egypt from Turkish sovereignty. This Lord Palmerston would not tolerate, as it endangered British interests in the East, and the above compromise was arranged in consequence. The Crimean War, the overland route to India by Alexandria, and the completion of the Suez Canal in 1868 were all factors contributing to a growing interest of Britain in Eastern affairs, and in Egypt in particular. The Khedive Ismail (1863–79) finally provoked direct European interference. Pecuniary embarrassment caused him to offer his interest in the Suez Canal to Britain. The chance was eagerly taken by Disraeli, and the shares were sold for £4,000,000, a fifth of their subsequent value. His reckless extravagance continued, and in 1879, when he had brought his country to the edge of bankruptcy, he abdicated in favour of his son Tewfik ; Britain and France combined to establish the ' Dual Control ' of Egypt and its finances. The new Khedive acquiesced in this arrangement, but in 1882 Arabi Pasha stirred up a military revolt and drove out the foreign ministers and advisers. France declined to intervene against him. A riot and massacre of Europeans in Alexandria, however, compelled British intervention, and Sir Garnet Wolseley, in a rapid campaign, reconquered the country. Mr. Gladstone gave an undertaking to France and Turkey that the military occupation should only be temporary. A disastrous war next year in the Sudan rendered the fulfil-

ment of this promise impossible. The Sudan provinces were abandoned after order had been restored on the Egyptian frontier.

British control in Egypt.

Egypt is now nominally governed by the Khedive and the Egyptian ministers under the suzerainty of the Sultan, though under the Capitulations 'a right to the administration of their own civil and criminal law by their own Consuls is enjoyed by the subjects of about fifteen foreign states'.[1] Britain is represented by an officer combining diplomatic and administrative functions, the 'British Agent, Consul-General, and Minister Plenipotentiary', who is assisted by the usual diplomatic staff. Each of the principal ministers has a British adviser, and the British Financial Adviser attends meetings of the Council of Ministers, but has no vote. The authority of these representatives is backed by the British Army of Occupation, which numbered over 6,000 men in 1912. The Egyptian army is also under the control of Britain, the Commander-in-Chief (Sirdar) being appointed by the Khedive 'with the consent of' the British Government. There are also a number of Britons employed side by side with Egyptians in the Egyptian Civil Service. The tendency of the British Government is to admit Egyptians more and more to the control of Egyptian affairs. Egyptian ministers gain, year after year, an increasing independence of British advice in the exercise of their executive authority. In the Anglo-French Convention of 1904 it was agreed by the French Government that they would not 'obstruct the action of Britain in that country by asking that a limit of time be fixed for the British occupation or in any other manner', while the British Government simultaneously declared that 'they had no intention of altering the political status of Egypt'. 'It would seem', says Sir William Anson, 'that the relation of Egypt to this country is that of an ill-defined and temporary protectorate.'[2]

[1] Sir W. Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, 1908 ed., vol. ii, part 2, p. 95.

[2] Sir W. Anson, *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, vol. ii, part 2, p. 96.

The status of the Sudan is much clearer. It was, as has been seen,[1] abandoned after the war of 1883, and ceased to form a part of the Sultan's dominions. Its subjugation was carried out by Britain and Egypt jointly, and it is thus their possession by right of conquest. It is administered jointly by the two countries. A Governor-General is appointed by the Khedive, advised by the British Government. The Governor-General in Council has the power in Sudanese territory of issuing proclamations and decrees having the force of law. The provinces are under British governors and public affairs are administered by a Civil Service consisting chiefly of Englishmen. The Sudan does not fall under the jurisdiction of the Mixed Tribunals of Egypt, and has its own civil and criminal codes, based on those of India and Egypt. Till the British Government braced itself to intervene and make a final settlement the Sudan was a disorganized and turbulent no man's land. Its education, trade, and finance have improved rapidly since then, and the country shows a prospect of recovering some of its historical prosperity.

The Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

Just as the Colonial Office has ceased to be a purely administrative body[2], issuing and carrying out the 'instructions' of the British Ministry, so the Foreign Office has been affected by recognition of the dominions' right to some influence in questions of foreign policy which concern their national responsibilities directly or even indirectly, and by necessary concessions to their growing interest in foreign, that is to say, in European affairs. The resulting situation is in the nature of a compromise. It is impossible to define it with accuracy, because it is an arrangement that has grown out of actual practice and the needs of the moment. Certain definite steps have, however, been taken to develop the machinery of the Home Government to meet imperial needs in the region of foreign policy. Though the executive power remains vested in the Crown and the British Parliament, elected by the people of the United Kingdom, the tendency has been to allow considerable latitude to the dominions in

The dominions and foreign affairs.

[1] p. 80.

[2] See Chapter I.

matters that directly concern them. Thus Canada has negotiated commercial treaties with France and other countries, and has placed her own restrictions and regulations on Oriental immigration. But, though Canada has taken this course, it has not been one of complete independence, her action having had the previous sanction of the British Government, and thus being equivalent to the measure of independence exercised at times by a Crown colony under a like supervision. A further step was marked by the establishment in 1909, under the Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty, of an International Joint Commission, composed of three members from the United States, Britain, and Canada, for the settlement of questions relating to the boundary waters that lie between Canada and her neighbour. This step, although an advance, was not a real departure from the old policy, since, technically at least, the Canadian representatives are appointed by the British Government, and the Commission is not itself competent to deal with matters that fall outside its own immediate sphere. Canada, again, has taken the course of appointing Trade Commissioners in various countries; they have, however, no diplomatic authority.

The imperial foreign policy is necessarily bound up with the problems of imperial defence. The dominions have a direct concern in these problems, which affect the national safety of every country in the Empire, and have expressed, in the very tangible form of contributions of ships to the Royal Navy, their willingness to share the expense and the responsibility of defence. This co-operation produced in its turn a readiness to admit the dominions to a greater share in the questions of imperial government generally.

The result has been that the quadrennial Imperial Conference[1] acquired an improved status and its discussions a greater force and reality. At the Conference of 1911 a resolution was carried which formally embodied as a point of imperial policy what had before that been a customary procedure. The resolution declared that 'the dominions shall be afforded an opportunity for consulta-

[1] See Chapter I, pp. 50 seqq.

tion when framing the instructions to be given to British delegates at future meetings of the Hague Conference, and that conventions affecting the dominions, provisionally assented to at that Conference, shall be circulated among the dominion Governments for their consideration before any such convention is signed', and that 'a similar procedure where time and opportunity and the subject matter permit, shall as far as possible be used when preparing instructions for the negotiation of other international agreements affecting the Dominions'.

The Committee of Imperial Defence is an institution which further illustrates in concrete form the progress of co-ordination and co-operation in imperial affairs. It is not an organization under the Foreign Office, but it has a direct bearing on the position of the dominions in regard to foreign affairs and may properly be included here. The Committee was instituted by Mr. Balfour, when Prime Minister, in 1904. It has no place in the Constitution, and it is an entirely informal body of varying membership. It is, in reality, a meeting called together by the Prime Minister for the time being to gather information and advice. Any one whose assistance is desirable may be invited to attend, and the dominions are at times asked to send representatives. The Committee's function is to consider questions of general strategy and the arrangement of the land and sea forces of the Empire. Sub-committees, appointed from time to time, investigate certain subjects in greater detail. Such an organization is invaluable, as it fills what was before a gap in the public service. (See further, p. 221.)

The Committee of Imperial Defence.

It has always been open to the dominion peoples to make use of the British diplomatic and consular services. 'In cases where Dominion or Colonial governments or the merchants and other private persons residing and doing business in their territories have business or interests which put them in frequent touch with a foreign country or with the commercial firms in such a country, those Governments, or persons, have always and will always, enter into direct communication with the imperial

The dominions and the diplomatic and consular services.

diplomatic and consular officers in that country, and the mysterious alchemy by which the requests of a dominion Government are transmuted in the laboratory of the Foreign Office into "instructions" has been, and will be, discarded.' [1] This development of the existing machinery will strengthen the diplomatic and, particularly, the consular services on their imperial side. While both services must ultimately be working for the advantage of the Empire-state, the view of the dominions has in the past been, and to some extent still is, that 'diplomatic relations' are an amiable weakness of Britain as a European Power, and a luxury to be classed with gold lace and ornate ceremonies as interesting survivals in the older and narrower civilization of Europe. The Embassy at Washington and the consular agencies throughout America, as is natural from the important Canadian interests in that country, furnish the most important instance of the way in which such organizations have assumed wider and more direct imperial responsibilities. Lord Bryce has stated that at least two-thirds of the business at the Washington Embassy is transacted on behalf of Canada, and instructions are received by the Embassy from the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Governor-General of Canada, and the Governor of Newfoundland. It is probable that the British consuls throughout America are in like manner representative of Canadian and Newfoundland interests.

The British Empire as a single Power.

Thus at the beginning of the twentieth century Britain does not claim or exercise the same absolute control of relations with foreign Powers in all parts of the globe as was the case in the early half of the nineteenth century. The 'colonies' and 'dependencies' of that period have become the 'dominions' of this, and there has been a corresponding, if vague and indefinite, increase of participation by the latter in imperial affairs and policy. Conversely, the Britannic Empire remains for diplomatic purposes a single State, and the Imperial Government retains the power to control the action of a dominion

[1] Article on 'Downing Street', *The Round Table*, No. 12, September 1913.

where such action conflicts with the interests or policy of the Empire as a whole. This power was exercised in 1911, in the case of the Shipping Act passed by the New Zealand parliament, which would have caused a conflict between the regulations of the Act and imperial requirements. In this power lies the guarantee of unity that enables the Powers to treat with the Foreign Office as the dependable representative of the whole Empire ; it is the safeguard of the loyal observance of agreements entered into by the British Ministry, acting for the dominions as well. In point of fact the central control thus exercised is not questioned as regards the bulk of the business of foreign policy. That policy is left by the other Britannic governments as a matter to be cared for chiefly by the Home Government, and there is no disposition to doubt its authority in dealing with problems of alliances, *ententes*, and international groupings which may affect the 'balance of power' and modify *weltpolitik* markedly, but must be the subject continuously of complex and delicate transactions and negotiations at the pivotal point, in Europe.

The United Kingdom and foreign policy.

The responsibility for the foreign policy of Britain, and so of the British Empire, is thus mainly entrusted to the Foreign Secretary in London, who in his turn is controlled by the British Parliament, which is directly responsible to the people of the United Kingdom. But within certain wide limits, the Foreign Secretary has a large amount of executive authority in his own hands.

The electorate of course retains the final control, by its power to overturn a Ministry of whose foreign policy it does not approve. It realizes, however, the all-important necessity for secrecy and for independent action by the Cabinet, if British diplomacy is to be successful, and is content to pass verdict only on the broadest questions of policy. Undeniably, a not inconsiderable section of the public, represented by the more advanced democrats in the House of Commons, views this tendency with impatience and distrust ; but, unless some unusually severe crisis puts too much strain on the confidence of the people

in its ministers, the latter are left the largest measure of discretion in acting on the policy authorized by a previous General Election. It is realized that a pertinent question asked in either House with regard to the Government's action or intentions in respect of an international incident is sufficiently met by the reply, that the interests of the nation compel secrecy for the moment and render it necessary to postpone a discussion of the topic in Parliament. Constitutionally such a discussion may be, and often is, raised when the House of Commons meets to consider the Foreign Office vote, but, unless the fall of the Ministry be actually involved, clearly less importance attaches to a *post factum* debate of this kind than to one which takes place while the long and delicate procedure of diplomacy is actually in train to achieve a certain result. As a rule, the Secretary of State is content to assure the House that he will lay the facts before it at the earliest opportunity which may be expedient.

The Foreign Secretary and the Cabinet.

On matters so gravely affecting the country's destiny, no Foreign Secretary could, if he would, dispense with the advice of his colleagues. Furthermore the proceedings at Cabinet meetings are confidential, and there is thus no bar to the discussion of questions which must in wisdom be withheld from a wider audience. Probably the Foreign Office claims more of the Cabinet's time than any other public service. Again, the Sovereign must be kept informed, and must be asked to approve of every important step that the Foreign Secretary takes in virtue of his executive power. Important dispatches must be submitted to the Sovereign, to the Prime Minister, and even to the consideration of a Cabinet meeting before they are sent off. 'In fact,' says Professor Lowell, 'there is probably no department where the executive action of the minister is so constantly brought to the notice of his colleagues,' [1] and, we might add, of his Sovereign. For the royal influence in this department of the State is traditionally of a very special nature.

[1] A. L. Lowell, *The Government of England*, 1908 ed., p. 88.

CHAPTER III

THE LEGAL PROBLEMS OF THE EMPIRE

By Arthur Page

The significance of the Crown.

An obvious and incontrovertible argument in favour of retaining the Monarchy as an integral part of the Constitution is provided by the relation in which the Crown stands to the British dominions and dependencies beyond the seas. It will be found, upon examination, that the sources of imperial patriotism can be traced in every instance to a feeling of loyalty to the person of the King.

'The crimson thread of kinship runs through us all,' as Sir Henry Parkes pointed out in ever memorable words, but Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, with equal truth, remarked during the progress of the Commonwealth of Australia Bill through the House of Commons, 'the links between us and them at the present time are very slender. Almost a touch may snap them.' If once the knowledge that the dominions and Great Britain are bound together as fellow subjects of the Crown had to be regarded as a thing of the past, and it was no longer possible for them to owe allegiance to the Crown, without doubt the sun of the British Empire would be sinking.

It is only by appreciating that the problems of empire centre round the person of the King that it becomes possible to arrive at a proper understanding of their nature and import. It is only when this fundamental fact is grasped that the difficulties with which imperial questions are hedged about become capable of being unravelled.

In none of the problems of empire which loom so big upon the political horizon to-day does the Crown figure more prominently than in those connected with the relationship of the Courts in the several dominions and

dependencies of the Empire to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council which acts as the final tribunal of appeal for all the British dominions outside the realm. Moreover, these problems have become more urgent and more difficult to solve in recent years, by reason of the amazing rapidity with which many of the outlying dominions are developing.

Imperial legislation.

The legal problems of the Empire were comparatively few in number and simple in character so long as the administration of the colonies and dependencies of the Crown was in the hands of officials of the United Kingdom at Westminster. But no one can exaggerate the importance of the changes which have taken place in the structure of the British Empire by reason of the passing into law of the British North America Act, 1867, the Commonwealth Act of 1900, and the South Africa Act of 1909.

This fascinating subject is more properly dealt with in greater detail in other parts of this work, but the growth of self-government within the different parts of the Empire has been so intimately bound up with the development of legal institutions and the status of legal tribunals in the dominions, that in any attempt to state what are the legal problems of the Empire at the present time, it cannot be passed by wholly without comment.

The obvious effect of this imperial legislation was to weld together in one confederation the different states of the several provinces which before had been, to all intents and purposes, independent of each other. But, as the Hon. B. R. Wise has recently pointed out in his brilliant work on the *Making of the Australian Commonwealth* (1889-1900), the goal of confederation was only reached after prolonged negotiations, and in some cases was accompanied by bitter controversies between the states and the leaders of the rival parties. If the welding of the Commonwealth of Australia produced so much friction and disputing, the even greater difficulties, racial and others, which had to be overcome before the British North America Act, 1867, became a living reality—and the same or similar obstacles had to be met in South

Africa before union was accomplished—must inevitably have left their mark upon the peoples who were thus brought together as members of a great and new community. What happened in fact was that, whereas before the union Canadians, Australians, and South Africans were linked by a common allegiance to the Crown, and in many cases also by family and domestic ties with their fellow subjects in Britain, after the formation of the union they instinctively became aware that they were members of a great local community, and developed a new and inspiring local patriotism. They were no longer the children but the sisters of the mother country, claiming the right to manage their own local affairs without interference from Downing Street, and to participate in the deliberations which were to determine the conduct of the common affairs of the Empire of which they were all members and fellow citizens, entitled to equal rights and privileges.

Self-government.

That they have practically achieved the right to manage their own local affairs is now admitted on all sides. At the Imperial Conference of 1911, Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, said, 'Whether in the United Kingdom or in any one of the great countries which you represent, we each of us are, and we intend to remain, master in our own household. This is here at home, and throughout the dominions, the life-blood of our polity. It is the *articulus stantis aut cadentis Imperii*.' In theory, no doubt, the local legislation of the self-governing dominions is subject to the overriding authority of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, but in practice, each of the British dominions which has been endowed with the right of self-government by representative assemblies is independent of administrative and legislative interference by the authorities in England. The Crown to-day remains as the only practical link between the mother country and the great dominions beyond the seas. The Crown does provide a very real tie in two ways, the one administrative, the other judicial. The King, through his governor, is a necessary party to

all valid legislation, whether within or without the realm. Whatever may be the position of the King within the realm in practice, there is no doubt that the power which the Crown possesses of vetoing colonial legislation is a very real operative instrument of government. It is sufficient for the purpose in hand to state that the relation of the Crown, acting through colonial governors, to the representative assemblies of the several dominions which have no effective control over the appointment of governors is one of considerable delicacy, which will require careful handling in the future.

The Crown and self-governing dominions.

It is, however, the relation of the King to the Courts of the several dominions and dependencies beyond the seas that is more properly germane to the purpose of this article. What effect will the development of the resources and potentialities of the British dominions have upon the relation of the Crown to the dominions in its judicial capacity? If the self-governing dominions are justified in asserting their right to control their own legislative and administrative activities without interference from Downing Street, are they not justified also in claiming that Canadian, Australian, and South African legal disputes shall be determined finally by dominion tribunals, without any further appeal to the Crown in Council? Nevertheless, as a Canadian statesman, the Hon. George Foster, M.P., pointed out on January 10, 1910, 'We cannot have absolute autonomy and remain in the Empire.'

Before attempting to state the trend of political opinion on this important question in the dominions, it is necessary, perhaps, that some account should be given of the manner in which the Crown has grown to be the final Court of Appeal for all His Majesty's subjects outside the realm. It is a most interesting investigation, but within the compass of this chapter it is only possible to give in outline the main stages in the history of the Crown in relation to the Courts.

Early history of the Privy Council.

In the beginnings of English history, it is not easy to trace the origin of the Privy Council. The source of the

judicial authority of the Crown acting upon the advice of the Privy Council is unknown—it is shrouded in the mists of antiquity. It is beyond question, however, that the King, from earliest times, dispensed justice in his own person. It was only natural that he should do so. He was the Lord Paramount of the Realm. He was the father of his people. To him all the people looked for the administration of the affairs of the realm. Just as the people turned to the King as the final administrator of public business, so they came to him from the earliest periods of English history as the final court to which to appeal in their private disputes. No doubt the King would find himself from time to time called upon to solve knotty points of law, and it was only natural, as in fact happened, that the King at such times should turn for advice and suggestions to the great nobles who surrounded his person. These magnates formed the Council of the King. The functions of the King's Council and the Parliament were at first inextricably mixed up. 'Habet rex curiam suam in concilio suo in Parliamentis suis ubi terminatae sunt dubitationes iudiciorum.'

Appeals to Parliament and to the King's Council.

By the reign of Richard II, however, the King's Council and Parliament became differentiated both in function and personnel, and from that time onwards appeals from within the realm and appeals from without the realm came to be heard by different tribunals. 'Appeals within the realm from this time onward were heard in Parliament—that is, by the nobles assisted by the judges—and not by the King in Council. It is no doubt true that the King's Council did in fact exercise various judicial functions within the realm for nearly three centuries afterwards, as can be seen, e. g., in the operations of the Privy Council in the Star Chamber, a court set up by Henry VII. But its jurisdiction occasioned great dissatisfaction, and in 1641 the Long Parliament not only abolished the Star Chamber (16 Car. I. c. 10), but once and for all put an end to the system by enacting that neither the King nor the Privy Council should have jurisdiction over any man's estate, and that the same

ought to be tried and determined in the ordinary Courts of Justice.'

The writs of the Common Law Courts, of course, did not run outside the realm, and from the reign of Charles I appeals in civil matters within the realm were in practice taken to the Court of Exchequer Chamber, established by 27 Eliz. c. 8, with a further appeal to the High Court of Parliament—that is, the nobles assisted by the judges. The Act 16 Car. I, c. 10, however, did not in any way affect the right of the King to hear petitions of appeal from dependencies of the Crown beyond the seas, and appeals from *without* the realm have continued from the earliest times to be heard by the King acting upon the advice of the Privy Council.

The House of Lords as Final Court of Appeal.

The jurisdiction of the House of Lords as the Final Court of Appeal *within* the realm was gained at a period in history when the presence of the Commons in Parliament was regarded as something like an anomaly. In Rot. Parl. 50 Edward III, No. 48, the opinion of the judges as to common law appeals is entered to the effect that when error occurred in the King's Bench it should be amended in Parliament—that is, by the King in Council in Parliament. It was urged that the Council was excluded, for the Council was not Parliament, and that the Commons were excluded, for they were not the Council. Whether the view taken was sound or not, the Commons acquiesced in the opinion which was generally held, and in 1 Hen. IV (1399) the Commons protested that they were not judges. The appellate jurisdiction of the House of Lords in cases arising in the Courts of Chancery grew more slowly, but except in 1675, when the House of Commons unsuccessfully asserted the right in the case of Shirley *v.* Fagg, the Commons have never claimed to share with the Lords the judicial functions of the High Court of Parliament, and the jurisdiction of the House of Lords as the final Court of Error has since that date never been questioned. Appeals to the House of Lords were heard by all the Peers of Parliament, assisted by the judges.

The personnel of the House of Lords in its judicial capacity, however, gave little satisfaction, and Sir Richard Bethel in 1855, when Solicitor-General, gave it as his opinion that the House of Lords was 'inferior to the lowest tribunal in what ought to be the accompaniments of a Court of Justice'.

By the Judicature Act, 1873 (36 & 37 Vic. c. 66), the judicial authorities within the realm were reconstituted, and the 'Supreme Court of Judicature', consisting of a Court of Appeal and a High Court of Justice, took the place of the older judicial bodies, the High Court of Chancery and the old Common Law Courts being merged in the High Court of Justice.

Reconstitution of House of Lords as Final Court of Appeal for Britain, 1893–1913.

The House of Lords, as an appellate tribunal, was then reconstituted by the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1876 (39 & 40 Vic. c. 59). By section 3:

'An appeal shall lie to the House of Lords from any order or judgement of any of the Courts following, that is to say:

'1. Of Her Majesty's Court of Appeal; and

'2. Of any Court in Scotland from which error or an appeal at or immediately before the commencement of this Act lay to the House of Lords by Common Law or by Statute; and

'3. Of any Court in Ireland from which error or an appeal at or immediately before the commencement of this Act lay to the House of Lords by Common Law or by Statute.'

By section 4:

'Every appeal shall be brought by way of petition to the House of Lords, praying that the matter of the order or judgement appealed against may be reviewed before Her Majesty the Queen in her Court of Parliament.'

By section 5:

'An appeal shall not be heard and determined by the House of Lords unless there are present at such hearing and determination not less than three of the following persons in this Act designated Lords of Appeal, that is to say:

'1. The Lord Chancellor of Great Britain for the time being; and

'2. The Lords of Appeal in Ordinary (now six in number under the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1913);

'3. Such Peers of Parliament as are for the time being holding or have held any of the offices in this Act described as high judicial offices.'

By section 5 of the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1887 (50 & 51 Vic. c. 70), 'high judicial office' is to be deemed to include the office of a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary and the office of a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

By section 25 of the Act of 1876, 'high judicial office' includes the office of Lord Chancellor of Great Britain or Ireland, or of a paid Judge of the Judicial Committee, or of a Judge of the Court of Appeal or of the High Court of Justice in England, or of the old Courts of Common Law or Equity, or of the Superior Courts of Law or Equity at Dublin, or of the Court of Session in Scotland.

Lay peers are not excluded from sitting on and determining appeals in the House of Lords, but by custom they do not do so, and since the year 1883 when Lord Denman, a lay peer, expressed his opinion on an appeal in the House of Lords, no instance has been known of a lay peer exercising what in theory, at any rate, is still his constitutional right and privilege of sitting on and voting in respect of appeals in the House of Lords.

Right of British subjects outside Britain to appeal to the King in Council.

On the other hand, the right of all British subjects without the realm to petition the King in Council has always continued from the times of the Norman Conquest.

At first the dominions of the Crown beyond the seas were small and few in number (always excepting the claim of the King of England to sovereignty over France). The dependencies of the Crown outside the United Kingdom, however, gradually grew in extent and number, and became known as the Plantations. The most important of the earlier settlements were those in North America. The settlements were effected by charters and commissions granted by the King. Until the reign of

Charles II the theory obtained that the plantations or the dependencies beyond the seas were the demesnes of the King in his foreign dominion. After the Restoration the plantations were no longer considered to be the demesnes of the King, but were treated as part of the territories or dominions of England.

The government of the plantations, and subsequently of the colonies and dependencies, from the earliest times up till the present day has been ordered and controlled by the Crown in Council, subject, of course, to statutes passed by the British Parliament. The system under which they are administered was modelled upon that which had been adapted from Norman times in the case of the Duchies of Gascoigne and Normandy.

Channel Islands.

After the Norman Conquest the Channel Islands were held by the King of England as part of the Duchy of Normandy. Appeals on matters of law, therefore, were brought from the Channel Islands to the King in Council, as previously they had been brought from the Courts of Normandy to the Duke. The Channel islanders were very jealous of their right of appeal to the King in Council, and as early as 1331 a question was raised before the King's Bench at Westminster as to whether the determination of disputes in the islands should be by the Courts of Jersey or Guernsey, with an appeal on matters of law to the King in Council. In 1495, by an Order in Council of Henry VII, it was finally settled that henceforth no appeal from the Channel Islands should be to any court in England, but only *au Roy et Conseil.*

It was probably in connexion with the islands of Jersey and Guernsey that the King in Council first exercised the right of reviewing decisions of judicial tribunals in the British dependencies beyond the seas.

In 1580 complaints were received from Guernsey relating to the restrictions which it was alleged had been laid upon appeals from that island, and in reply an Order in Council was drawn up and issued, which set out for the first time rules for regulating the procedure for

appealing from the Channel Islands. In 1605 a further Order in Council was passed which fixed the appealable value, and these two Orders in Council form the basis under which provisions have been made from time to time for regulating appeals from the dominions and dependencies beyond the seas to the King in Council.

The Colonies.

At first the appeals were heard before a Committee of the Privy Council appointed *ad hoc* as appeals were lodged; in 1632 the first Committee of the Privy Council for the Plantations was appointed under the title of the Committee on the New England Plantations. It was reappointed in 1833, and comprised at that date the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, the Earl Marshal, the Earl of Dorset, Lord Cottington, Mr. Treasurer, Mr. Comptroller, Mr. Secretary Coke, and Mr. Secretary Windebanck.

In 1660 a committee was appointed to sit twice a week to hear petitions, &c., concerning the plantations, and from 1675 to 1782 the administration of the plantations was carried on by the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations. In 1696 a standing committee known as the Lords of Committee for Hearing Appeals was appointed. By Order in Council of December 10, 1696, three of their lordships were to form a quorum, and the committee was directed to report the decision at which it had arrived to His Majesty in Council. It was, however, the whole committee which in theory continued to be the tribunal before whom all appeals from without the realm continued to be heard until the establishment of the Judicial Committee in 1833. After a determination had been arrived at, the committee reported its decision to the King, and the report contained the advice upon which the King finally disposed of the appeal.

The form of the present tribunal was substantially settled by statutes passed in 1833, 1843, and 1844.

Powers conferred by British Parliament on the

By 3 & 4 William IV, c. 41, section 1, 'The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council' was formed. It had been decided in the case of Fryer *v.* Bernard (2 P. Wms.

262) many years before, that appeals from the plantations lay only to the King in Council, and the preamble of the Statute of 1833 recited the Statute 25 Hen. VIII, c. 19, intituled 'The Submission of the Clergy and Restraint of Appeals', and the Statute 2 & 3 William IV, c. 92, by which the power of the High Court of Delegates had been transferred to His Majesty in Council. By these enactments the Privy Council had become the final Court of Appeal in ecclesiastical causes. Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, 1833–43–44.

By section 3 of the Act of 1833 :

'All appeals or complaints in the nature of appeals, whatever, which either by virtue of this Act, or of any law, statute, or custom, may be brought before His Majesty or His Majesty in Council from or in respect of the determination, sentence, rule, or order of any court, judge, or judicial officer, and all such appeals as are now pending and unheard, shall from and after the passing of this Act be referred by His Majesty to the said Judicial Committee of his Privy Council, and that such appeals, causes, and matters shall be heard by the said Judicial Committee, and a report or recommendation thereon shall be made to His Majesty in Council for his decision thereon, as heretofore, in the same manner and form as has been heretofore the custom with respect to matters referred by His Majesty to the whole of the Privy Council or a committee thereof (the nature of such report or recommendation being always stated in open court).'

By section 4 of the Act :

'It shall be lawful for His Majesty to refer to the said Judicial Committee for hearing or consideration any such other matters whatsoever as His Majesty shall think fit, and such committee shall thereupon hear or consider the same, and advise His Majesty thereon in manner aforesaid.'

By Order in Council, dated February 20, 1627, clause 9, the Lords of Committee are not to disclose the opinions of the members of the Board.

The Act of 1833 also contained further provisions relating to the procedure for appealing, and settled the personnel of the tribunal. It is proposed to describe the composition of the tribunal with the amendments which

have been made to its constitution in their entirety at a later stage. At present it is proposed to refer only to the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee.

By the Act of 1843 (6 & 7 Vic. c. 38) further powers, relating for the most part to ecclesiastical appeals, were conferred upon the Judicial Committee.

By the Act of 1844 (7 & 8 Vic. c. 69), greatly increased jurisdiction was vested in the Judicial Committee.

Under the Act of 1833 the Judicial Committee entertained appeals only from the Courts of Final Resort in the colonies and dependencies, and it was at that time considered to be advisable to extend the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee so as to entitle the Judicial Committee to hear appeals from Courts outside the realm, even although such courts were not Courts of Final Resort.

By section 1 of the Act of 1844, it was accordingly enacted :

'That it shall be competent to Her Majesty, by any order or orders to be from time to time for that purpose made with the advice of her Privy Council, to provide for the admission of any appeal or appeals to Her Majesty in Council, from any judgements, sentences, decrees, or orders of any Court of Justice within any British Colony or possession abroad, although such court shall not be a Court of Error or a Court of Appeal within such colony or possession : and it shall also be competent to Her Majesty by any such order or orders as aforesaid, to make all such provisions as to Her Majesty in Council shall seem meet for the instituting and presenting any such appeals, and for carrying into effect any such decisions or sentences as Her Majesty in Council shall pronounce thereon : Provided always that it shall be competent to Her Majesty in Council to revoke, alter, and amend any such order or orders as aforesaid as to Her Majesty in Council shall seem meet : . . . Provided also, that nothing herein contained shall be construed to extend to take away or diminish any power now by law vested in Her Majesty for regulating appeals to Her Majesty in Council from the judgements, sentences, decrees, or orders of any Courts of Justice within any of Her Majesty's Colonies or possessions abroad.'

The jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee has been in recent years further extended to meet the requirements of political development. For example, in 1906, by an Act passed by the Canadian Dominion Parliament it became entitled to entertain appeals from the Supreme Court of Canada on constitutional matters referred to the Supreme Court by the Governor-General in Council, while the Home Rule Bill brought before the Imperial Parliament in 1912–14 contained provisions whereby the Judicial Committee was to be the final Court of Appeal from the Irish Courts, and the *persona designata* to determine the constitutionality of the Acts of the Irish Parliament set up by the Bill. In this manner the Judicial Committee in effect is the final Court of Appeal for more than a fifth of the habitable world. No Court has ever before existed with such wide and august authority.

Recent extensions of jurisdiction of Judicial Committee.

'Go into the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council', writes Mr. Nesbitt, K.C., a distinguished Canadian, 'for a single week, and watch its operations. You will see it decide on one day a question according to French law as it prevailed before the Revolution, modified by subsequent Canadian statutes; and on another day, according to the Common Law of England as modified by Australian or New Zealand law. The truth of these observations may be understood by perusing a list of the different territories from which appeals may be taken to this Court. The number is upwards of 150. If Europe is taken as an example, appeals lie from six different Principalities, and the laws administered range from the ancient customs of the Isle of Man to those in force in the Island of Cyprus. Other interesting examples may be given in the Leeward Islands, composed of Montserrat, St. Kitts, and Nevis, where it administers the Common Law introduced by Royal Proclamations in 1764, and Newfoundland, which is our oldest Colony. In Asia, besides India, appeals lie from the Courts of twenty-four Principalities, differing from the Bombay High Court to the Consular Court of China and Korea.'

Such is the jurisdiction of this great tribunal, which

from the time of its creation has been presided over by the greatest British jurists, among whom may be mentioned the names of Mansfield, Grant, Kingsdown, Cairns, Selborne, Halsbury, Watson, and Macnaghten.

Composition of the Judicial Committee.

The composition of the Judicial Committee is a matter which raises urgent and interesting questions of imperial policy. In the days, now long since passed by, when the administration of the colonies and dependencies of the Crown was controlled by the Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations, appeals were not, of course, nearly so many in number as they are to-day. The questions which came over to the mother country for determination were for the most part questions as to the limitations of charters and the territories thereby settled. But with the increase and expansion of the colonies and dependencies, different and complicated questions of law arose in addition to the matters of disputed boundaries and other kindred problems.

It therefore became more and more necessary that the questions of law which were brought up for decisions should be determined by lawyers of trained and wide experience.

By the Act of 1833 (3 & 4 Will. IV, c. 41), the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was composed of the President of the Council, the Lord Chancellor, and such members of the Privy Council as from time to time held the office of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of Great Britain, of the Lord Chief Justice, of a Judge of the King's Bench, of the Lord Chief Baron or of a Baron of the Exchequer, of the Lord Chief Justice or Judge of the Common Pleas, of the Master of the Rolls, of Vice-Chancellor of England, of Judge of the Prerogative Court of the Archbishop of Canterbury, of Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, and of Chief Judge of the Court of Bankruptcy, together with all previous occupants of these offices during their lifetime.

With the reconstitution of the judicial tribunals in 1873, and the transference of certain functions of the Judicial Committee to other bodies, changes became

inevitable in the personnel of the Judicial Committee. In 1871, by the Statute 34 & 35 Vic. c. 91, power was given to appoint four persons to be paid members of the Committee.

A change of great importance took place under the provisions of the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1876. By section 6 it was provided, *inter alia*, that 'A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary shall, if a Privy Councillor, be a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and subject to the due performance by a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary of his duties as to the hearing and determination of appeals in the House of Lords, it shall be his duty, being a Privy Councillor, to sit and act as a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.'

The effect of this enactment was to assimilate to a very large extent the personnel of the House of Lords and of the Privy Council for the purpose of exercising appellate jurisdiction.

Present membership of the Committee.

By the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1913 (3 & 4 George V, c. 21), the number of the Lords of Appeal in Ordinary was increased to six. The members of the Judicial Committee, who are drawn from officials in the United Kingdom, at present consist of the Lord Chancellor of Great Britain, the six Lords of Appeal in Ordinary, the Lords Justices of Appeal (added by statute in 1881), the President of the Council, the Master of the Rolls, the Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, the Justices of the High Court of Judicature of Ireland, the Lord President, and the other Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland, and previous occupants of those offices, provided always that the official in question is a member of the Privy Council.

In ecclesiastical appeals, provision was made in the Statute of 1876 for the attendance of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York and certain other bishops to be appointed by Order in Council, as assessors of the Judicial Committee.

The appellate jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee is for the most part exercised in connexion with appeals

from the dependencies and the British dominions beyond the seas.

Question of the representation of overseas dominions on the Committee.

In the course of the development of the overseas dominions, Supreme Courts have been created, which possess the highest dignity and are of very great importance. No doubt, in years long since gone by, the judges who administered justice in the overseas dependencies and colonies were not of the highest judicial calibre. But at the present time this can no longer be stated with truth. Nevertheless, the overseas dominions possess no salaried representatives upon the Judicial Committee. It is true that by section 30 of the Act of 1833 ' two members of His Majesty's Privy Council who shall have held the office of Judge in the East Indies or any of His Majesty's Dominions beyond the Seas, and who, being appointed for that purpose by His Majesty shall attend the sittings of the Judicial Committee, shall severally be entitled to receive over and above any annuity granted to them in respect of having held such office as aforesaid, the sum of four hundred pounds for every year during which they shall attend as aforesaid, as an indemnity for the expense which they may thereby incur ' ; but in practice judges from India have always been appointed, and although the persons so appointed are members of the Judicial Committee for all purposes, in practice such members only sit for the purpose of hearing appeals from India.

As has been already pointed out in the earlier part of this chapter, a problem, which in the course of the evolution of the British Empire is becoming more and more urgent, is whether in the future the self-governing dominions of the British Empire will consent to allow appeals to be brought from the final Courts of the Dominions to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, on the Board of which they possess no salaried or permanent member, and over whose appointment they exercise no control.

During the last twenty years, steps have been taken to remedy this obvious and growing grievance which is felt by the overseas dominions. Statutes have been

passed in 1895, 1908, and 1913, under the provisions of which representatives of the dominions have found seats upon the Board of the Judicial Committee.

By the Judicial Committee Amendment Act, 1895 (58 & 59 Vic. c. 44), it is provided that : Amending Acts of 1895,

'1. If any person being or having been Chief Justice or a Judge of the Supreme Court of the Dominion of Canada, of any of the Australasian Colonies mentioned in the schedule to this Act or of either of the South African Colonies mentioned in the said schedule, or of any other Superior Court in Her Majesty's Dominions, named in that behalf by Her Majesty in Council, is a member of Her Majesty's Privy Council, he shall be a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

'2. The number of persons being members of the Judicial Committee by reason of this Act shall not exceed five at any one time.'

By the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1908 (8 Edward VII, c. 51), it is further provided : 1908,

'I. 1. For the purpose of the hearing of any appeal to His Majesty in Council from any Court in a British possession, His Majesty may, if he thinks fit, authorize any person who is or has been a judge of the Court from which the appeal is made, or a judge of a Court to which an appeal lies from the Court from which the appeal is made, and whose services are for the time being available, to attend as an assessor of the Judicial Committee on the hearing of the appeal.

'This section applies to British India, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the Dominion of New Zealand, the Colonies now united by the Union of South Africa, and Newfoundland.

'2. If any person, having been Chief Justice or Judge of any High Court in British India (or of the High Court of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, or the North-Western Provinces), is a member of the Privy Council, he may be appointed a member of the Judicial Committee. Not more than two persons shall be members of the Committee at one time by virtue of this section.

By the Appellate Jurisdiction Act, 1913 (3 & 4 George V, c. 21), it is enacted that : 1913.

'III. 1. The maximum number of persons (being, or having been judges in certain parts of His Majesty's

Dominions) who may become members of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council by reason of the Judicial Committee Amendment Act, 1895, as amended by any subsequent enactment, shall be increased from five to seven, and accordingly seven shall be substituted for five in subsection (2) of section 1 of that Act.

'2. Section 1 of the said Act shall have effect as if the persons named therein included any person being or having been Chief Justice or a Judge of the Supreme Court of South Africa.

'3. His Majesty may, by Order in Council, regulate the order in which the persons qualified to become members of the Judicial Committee under the said Act as so amended, are to become members thereof, so as to secure, as far as possible, an equal distribution of such members amongst the various parts of His Majesty's Dominions to which the Act so amended relates.'

By the fourth subsection, the 'Union of South Africa' is substituted for the 'Cape of Good Hope, Natal, Transvaal, Orange River Colony', in the schedule to the Act of 1908.

The Committee in practice.

The Chief Justice of the High Court of Australia and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Newfoundland, and judges of these two Courts, are by the Act of 1908 included among the persons to whom the provisions of section 1 of the Act of 1895 are applicable. The practical result of this legislation has not been, as at first sight might have appeared probable, that the British dominions beyond the seas have been granted any effective representation on the Board of the Judicial Committee, for the reason that it has been found convenient for the colonial judges who are qualified to take their seats only at such times as they are not required to exercise their judicial functions in the colony in which they hold office. In practice, except on very rare occasions—for instance, during the summer sittings of 1913, Lord de Villiers took his seat in the House of Lords when sitting for the transaction of judicial business, and Sir Samuel Griffith, Chief Justice of Australia, during the same sittings sat on the Board of the Judicial Committee, and heard appeals from New Zealand and India—the work of the

Judicial Committee has devolved upon the Lord Chancellor and the six Lords of Appeal in Ordinary. Without doubt the Judicial Committee, in the exercise of its important functions, has won golden opinions in many quarters. An amusing illustration of the confidence which its decisions have inspired in the outlying parts of the Empire was related in 1900 by Mr. R. B. Haldane, afterwards Lord Chancellor. 'As showing the faith in this body which has been inspired into our distant peoples, it is told by a traveller who had penetrated into a remote part of India, that he found the natives offering up a sacrifice to a far-off but all-powerful god, who had just restored to the tribe the land which the Government of the day had taken from it. He asked the name of the god. The reply was, "We know nothing of him, but that he is a good god, and that his name is the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council."'

Present problems.

One of the most urgent imperial problems which awaits solution, however, is how much longer the self-governing dominions will remain willing to accept the decisions of a Final Court of Appeal in the composition of which they have no voice.

The Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, constituted in this manner, and clothed with the ample jurisdiction which has been explained above, is not, strictly speaking, a Court at all. It is merely a Committee of the Privy Council, with statutory power to inquire into the nature of the subject-matter in appeal, and to report to the Sovereign the result of its deliberations. Its 'judgement' is not a judgement, but consists only of the reasons which induce the Committee 'humbly' to 'advise' the Sovereign to give effect to the decision at which the Board has arrived. The report to the Sovereign does not state these reasons, but merely states the conclusion of the Board and the method proposed for giving effect to it. The report is submitted to the Sovereign, and after it has been approved at a meeting of the Privy Council, an Order in Council is issued embodying the report, and adopting it as the judgement of the King in Council.

The Royal Prerogative.

The King, in virtue of his Prerogative, has authority under the Constitution to review the decisions of all Colonial Courts, and of all Courts on which British jurisdiction has been conferred, whether the proceedings be of a civil or of a criminal nature, unless the Prerogative of the Sovereign has been validly restricted or abolished (Falkland Islands Co. *v.* The Queen, 1 Moo., N.S. 299).

The right of the Crown in Council to entertain appeals from all Courts of Justice in any British colony or possession abroad is also conferred by Statute 7 & 8 Vic. c. 69, section 1.

The better opinion is that the King is not entitled to surrender any part of his Prerogative without the consent of the British people, evidenced by an enabling imperial statute in that behalf.

The King has no power *proprio motu* to surrender the Prerogative right to receive appeals from all British Courts without the realm, and no statutory provision passed by a colonial legislature can validly limit or abolish the Prerogative to receive appeals (*In re* Wi Mutua, 1908, A.C. 448. Canadian Pacific Railway Co. *v.* Toronto Corporation, 1911, A.C. 461).

The Crown in Council is entitled to entertain all appeals from any British Court of Justice without the realm in virtue of its Prerogative and by reason of the Statutes of 1833 and 1844 (except where the Prerogative right has been restricted or abolished by an Act of the British Parliament).

Leave and right to appeal granted by the Crown in Council.

The Crown in Council will, in its discretion, grant 'special leave to appeal' in all proper cases, whether they be of a civil or criminal nature, but in criminal cases the Judicial Committee will not advise the King to entertain an appeal unless 'it is shown that by a disregard of the forms of legal process, or by some violation of the principles of natural justice or otherwise, substantial and grave injustice has been done' (see *In re* Dillet, 12 A.C., p. 459, and R. *v.* Bertrand, L.R.P.C. 529). The only instance in which the Royal Prerogative to receive such appeals has been validly restricted is under the important

British statutes by which the constitutions of the Commonwealth of Australia and the Union of South Africa were created in 1900 and 1909. Except as provided by these Statutes the Crown in Council has an indisputable right to grant *special leave* to appeal in all cases heard in a British Court without the realm.

In settled colonies it appears to be clear that the Crown in Council is entitled by Order in Council to set up Courts for the administration of the Common Law of England which the settlers take with them (see Jephson *v.* Riera, 2 Knapp. 130). But when once the judicial system has been set up (see *In re* The Lord Bishop of Natal, 3 Moore P.C., N.S. 152), or the colony possesses a local legislature, the Crown cannot confer any new jurisdiction upon the existing Courts, or set up new Courts without the consent of the local legislature, or the aid of an imperial statute.

The Crown may by Charter or Order in Council, or local ordinance, grant the *right* of appealing to the Crown in Council from the Courts of any British colony or possession or dependency, subject to the fulfilment of certain conditions. The conditions precedent to the right to appeal coming into existence vary in the different colonies and possessions. This variation in the conditions precedent to the right of appealing was caused by the different methods by means of which the several colonies were settled.

Resolutions of Colonial Conference, 1907.

The multiplicity of these conditions gave rise to much confusion and dissatisfaction, and the Colonial Conference of 1907 passed the following resolutions :

'1. That, with a view to the extension of uniform rights of appeal to all colonial subjects of His Majesty, the various Orders in Council, Instructions to Governors, Charters of Justice, Ordinances and Proclamations upon the subject of the Appellate jurisdiction of the Sovereign should be taken into consideration for the purpose of determining the desirability of equalizing the conditions which gave right of appeal to His Majesty.

'2. That much uncertainty, expense, and delay would be avoided if some portion of His Majesty's Prerogative

to grant special leave to appeal in cases where there exists no right of appeal were, under definite rules and restrictions, delegated to the discretion of the local Courts.'

The principal variations which existed in the conditions precedent to the right of appeal in the several colonies and possessions concerned the appealable amount, the limit of time for appealing as of right, and the lodging of security for costs.

Consequent amendments, 1908.

To meet the complaints raised at the Colonial Conference, the practice and procedure of the Judicial Committee was amended and consolidated by an Order in Council of December 21, 1908, which set out a fresh body of rules in lieu of those which had hitherto obtained, and a model set of conditions was drafted and submitted to all the colonies, with a recommendation that it should be adopted by them in place of the existing conditions, with a view to obtaining a uniformity of practice. Most of the colonies have adopted the new conditions (which, however, do not apply to India), and in cases where the new conditions have been adopted, Orders in Council have been issued revoking the Order or Ordinance in force, and giving validity to the new conditions. In this way much has been done to simplify and improve the practice.

Rules and model conditions covering the practice of the Committee.

The two most important conditions set out in the model conditions are :

'Rule 2. Subject to the provisions of these rules, an appeal shall lie—

'(*a*) As of right, from any final judgement of the Court, where the matter in dispute on the appeal amounts to or is of the value of £—— sterling or upwards, or where the appeal involves, directly or indirectly, some claim or question to or respecting property or some civil right amounting to or of the value of £—— sterling or upwards ; and

'(*b*) At the discretion of the Court, from any other judgement of the Court, whether final or interlocutory, if, in the opinion of the Court, the question involved in the appeal is one which, by reason of its great general or public importance or otherwise ought to be submitted to His Majesty in Council for decision.'

The appealable amount varies, according to the local circumstances, from £300 (e.g. in Barbados) to £2,000, but £500 is the minimum usually fixed.

The power which is conferred by this rule upon the local Court to grant leave to appeal if the appeal involved a question of great general or public importance, was in the case of most of the colonial Courts a new one, which does away with the necessity of applying in such cases, where the amount in dispute fell below the appealable minimum to the Privy Council, for special leave to appeal.

'Rule 4. Applications to the Court for leave to appeal shall be made by motion or petition within —— days from the date of the judgement to be appealed from, and the applicant shall give the opposite party notice of his intended application.'

The time usually fixed is twenty-one days, but the period is not uniform in all the colonies.

Rule 5 relates to the amount of the security which is required for the costs of the appeal. In Rule 5 the amount is set out as £500, and this sum has, in practice, been adopted in most colonies.

Crown's Prerogative to grant special leave to appeal.

It must be borne in mind that the conditions contained in the model rules, and any other conditions, compliance with which gives a *right* of appeal, can in no way affect the Prerogative right of the Sovereign in Council to grant *special* leave to appeal in any case in which it is deemed meet to grant it. This Prerogative right can only be restricted by an Act of the Imperial Legislature, as has been already stated. Moreover, even if the local Court has refused leave to appeal on the ground that the conditions have not been complied with, the Privy Council will, notwithstanding, in their discretion, in a proper case grant special leave to appeal.

Rule 28 of the model conditions expressly recognizes the Prerogative of the Crown:

'Nothing in these rules contained shall be deemed to interfere with the right of His Majesty, upon the humble petition of any person aggrieved by any judgement of

the Court, to admit his appeal therefrom upon such conditions as His Majesty in Council shall think fit to impose.'

No useful purpose would be served, even if it were possible to do so within the compass of this chapter, by setting out the details of the special conditions which must be complied with before a *right* of appeal arises in the several colonies and dependencies of the Empire. It is much to be desired that within a reasonable time it will be found that the model conditions have been adopted by Order in Council or other valid process, so as make the procedure of appeal throughout the Empire conform even more than it does at the present time to a uniform standard.

The British Courts from which appeals lie to the Sovereign in Council exercise jurisdiction in countries which are united to the British Crown by varying ties, and which enjoy different forms of government.

The main groups are :

Types of colonial dependencies.

1. The self-governing dominions which have been entrusted with full self-government, namely, the Dominion of Canada, the Commonwealth of Australia, the United South Africa, New Zealand, and Newfoundland.

2. Those colonies which have not complete self-government, and in which the executive power is vested in the governor, acting with a nominated or elected legislative assembly or council, or with a legislative assembly or council which is partly nominated and partly elected, such as the West Indies, Mauritius, Malta, the Falkland Islands, &c.

3. Those colonies in which the legislative and executive power is vested in the Governor alone ; for instance, Gibraltar, St. Helena, and Labuan.

4. Those countries and places which come under the British Settlements Acts of 1887 and the Foreign Jurisdiction Act of 1890, and which either enjoy a British protectorate, or have no European civilization, and which by treaty, capitulation, or otherwise have surrendered jurisdiction over British subjects to the

Courts established by the Sovereign of the United Kingdom.

5. Those countries which are British possessions, but which do not strictly come under the category of colonies, such as British India, the Channel Isles, the Isle of Man, and the territories of chartered companies within the sphere of British influence, such as the Imperial British East Africa Company.

So far as the varying local circumstances permit, appeals from the British Courts which exercise jurisdiction in these places are regulated substantially by conditions and rules, such as have been described and explained above, with the exception of British India, to which the model conditions are not applicable, and the self-governing dominions of Canada, Australia, and United South Africa. No doubt the Order in Council may give validity to different conditions in different territories, such as the Order in Council issued in 1910 for New Zealand, which, so far as appeals from the final judgements of the Supreme Court is concerned, limits the right of appeal unless 'in the opinion of that Court the question involved in the appeal is one which by reason of its great general or public importance or of the magnitude of the interests involved, or for any other reason, ought to be submitted to His Majesty in Council for decision'; but, speaking generally, the procedure for appealing from the Courts in these territories is framed on substantially similar lines.

Appeals from British India.

More appeals are brought before the Judicial Committee from British India than from any other territory within the British Empire.

In certain districts of India to which the Code of Civil Procedure has not been applied, the only rules in force relating to appeals to the Privy Council are contained in an Order in Council issued in 1838, under which a right of appeal is given in those cases alone in which the petition is brought within six calendar months, and the value of the matter in dispute amounts to Rs. 10,000.

Appeals from the four chartered High Courts at Calcutta,

Madras, Bombay, and Allahabad are regulated by the provisions of the Letters Patent by which they were respectively created, and by rules which the High Courts have themselves made under the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure (sections 129–131). But appeals to the Privy Council from these Courts and other Courts (except those in scheduled districts to which the Code has not been expressly made applicable) are regulated by the Code of Civil Procedure contained in Act 5 of 1908, passed by the Governor-General in Council.

The main provisions are :

'109. Subject to such rules as may from time to time be made by His Majesty in Council . . . an appeal shall lie to His Majesty in Council.

(*a*) From any decree or final order passed on appeal by a High Court or by any other Court of final appellate jurisdiction.

(*b*) From any decree or final order passed by a High Court in the exercise of original civil jurisdiction.

(*c*) From any decree or order when the case, as hereinafter provided, is certified to be a fit one for appeal to His Majesty in Council.

110. In each of the cases mentioned in clauses (*a*) and (*b*) of section 109, the amount or value of the subject-matter of the suit . . . must be Rs.10,000 or upwards. . . .

And where the decree appealed from affirms the decision or final order of the Court immediately below, . . . the appeal must involve some substantial question of law.'

Appeals from Canada, Australia, and South Africa.

It is, however, around the right of appeal to the Privy Council from the Dominion of Canada, the Union of South Africa, and the Commonwealth of Australia, that controversy has mainly centred. By the Act of 1844, and in virtue of the Prerogative, the Sovereign in Council possesses the right to receive petitions of appeal from all the Courts of these dominions, except where the Prerogative has been abridged by statute passed by the British Parliament. The problem which is growing more and more urgent is whether the Prerogative right of the Crown ought not to be abolished so far as appeals from the dominions are concerned, and the right of appeal restricted to cases in which the local Courts have themselves granted leave to appeal.

In the states and provinces of the dominions the conditions, the fulfilment of which give a *right* of appeal to the Judicial Committee, vary considerably, but in the case of each of the dominions, an appeal in certain cases lies from the provincial Courts to the Supreme Court of the dominion.

It is urged by those who advocate the abridgement of the Royal Prerogative, that in cases where there is an appeal from the Courts of the states or provinces to the Supreme Court of the dominion, an alternative or further appeal to the Privy Council is unnecessary and mischievous. It is asserted that the creation by virtue of an imperial statute of a Supreme Court for a dominion to which an appeal may lie from the Courts of the states or provinces, is a recognition of the claim of the dominion to be the final arbiters of disputes within the territory of that dominion, and that the effect of the retention of the Prerogative right to receive petitions of appeal from the provincial Courts, may result in conflicting decisions in the Privy Council and in the Supreme Courts of the dominions.

Again, it is argued that the dignity of the Supreme Court of the dominion is impaired if it is open to an aggrieved litigant to appeal by special leave of His Majesty to His Majesty in Council from an adverse decision of the Supreme Court of the dominion.

The steps which have been taken in the dominions in furtherance of these widely held opinions are as follows :

Canada.

The British North America Act of 1867, by section 101, authorized the creation of a General Court of Appeal for Canada, and in 1875 by Statute of the Dominion Parliament (38 Vic. c. 11), the Supreme Court of Canada was created. The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court of Canada is now regulated by a Canadian Statute (Rev. St. Can. 1906, c. 139).

In none of these statutes is the Prerogative right to entertain appeals in any way curtailed, but by section 59 of the Act of 1906 the Dominion Parliament provided that under no conditions should there be a *right* of

appeal to the Privy Council from the Supreme Court of Canada.

'Section 59. The judgement of the Court shall in all cases be final and conclusive, and no appeal shall be brought from any judgement or order of the Court to any Court of Appeal established by the Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland by which appeals or petitions to His Majesty in Council may be ordered to be heard, saving any right which his Majesty may be graciously pleased to exercise by virtue of His Royal Prerogative.'

In so far as this statute purports to limit the right of the Sovereign in Council to entertain appeals on such conditions as by Order in Council may be deemed to be meet, the Statute is clearly repugnant to the Act of 1844, and *ultra vires*.

Further, in 1888, by a Statute passed by the Dominion Parliament (51 Vic. c. 43), the Dominion Legislature purported to abolish the Royal Prerogative to grant special leave to appeal in criminal cases.

'Notwithstanding any Royal Prerogative or anything contained in the Interpretation Act or in the Supreme Court Act, no appeal shall be brought in any Criminal Case *from any judgement or order of any Court in Canada* to any Court of Appeal or authority by which in the United Kingdom appeals or petitions to His Majesty's Council may be heard.'

This Act, *pro tanto*, is clearly *ultra vires* and invalid, and beyond this the Dominion has not, up till now, sought to restrict the Royal Prerogative. The legislation which has been passed in Canada, however, demonstrates the urgency of the claim which has been raised.

Australia. The Commonwealth (Constitution) Act, 1900 (63 & 64 Vic. c. 12), for the first time validly restricted the Royal Prerogative to entertain appeals from all British Courts without the realm.

By section 74 of the Act which was passed by the Parliament at Westminster, it is enacted that :

'Section 74. No appeal shall be permitted to the Queen in Council from a decision of the High Court upon any

question, howsoever arising, as to the limits *inter se* of the Constitutional powers of the Commonwealth and those of any State or States, or as to the limits *inter se* of the Constitutional powers of any two or more States, unless the High Court shall certify that the question is one which ought to be determined by Her Majesty in Council. . . .

'Except as provided in this section, this Constitution shall not impair any right which the Queen may be pleased to exercise by virtue of Her Royal Prerogative, to grant special leave of appeal from the High Court to Her Majesty in Council. The Parliament may make laws limiting the matters in which such leave may be asked, but proposed laws containing any such limitation shall be reserved by the Governor-General for Her Majesty's pleasure.'

By section 73, the judgement of the High Court in all matters referred to in the section is to be final and conclusive.

By subsequent Acts passed by the Australian Parliament in 1903 and in 1907, called the Judiciary Acts, the Commonwealth sought still further to limit the jurisdiction of the King in Council by prohibiting appeals from the State Courts on constitutional matters from being brought over to the Privy Council. There can be little doubt that the Judiciary Acts of 1903 and 1907 are *ultra vires*, as being repugnant to the Statutes of 1844 (see Webb *v.* Outrim, 1907, A.C. 81). But there is no doubt that further attempts will be made to limit His Majesty's Prerogative right to entertain appeals from Australia unless a solution is found of the difficulties which have been raised.

Union of South Africa.

The South Africa Act of 1909 (9 Edward VII, c. 9) restricts even more rigorously the Prerogative right to entertain appeals from United South Africa.

By section 106:

'There shall be no appeal from the Supreme Court of South Africa or from any division thereof to the King in Council, but nothing herein contained shall be construed to impair any right which the King in Council may be pleased to exercise to grant special leave to appeal from

the *Appellate Division* to the King in Council. Parliament may make laws limiting the matters in respect of which such special leave may be asked, but Bills containing any such limitation shall be reserved by the Governor-General for the signification of His Majesty's pleasure.'

The effect of the South Africa Act, 1909 (except in the case of judgements in the inferior Courts which are not Divisions of the Supreme Court), is that the Prerogative right of His Majesty to grant special leave to appeal to the Crown in Council is taken away save as regards appeals from the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court.

Need for an Imperial Court of Appeal.

There can be no doubt in view of the legislation which has recently been passed both by the British Parliament and by the legislatures of the dominions relating to appeals from British Courts without the realm to the King in Council, that there is a strong movement in the dominions, and to a lesser extent also in the mother country, in favour of restricting the jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. With the growing sense of nationalism which the development and independence of the self-governing dominions have engendered, it is felt that the dominions should be entitled to determine their own judicial problems without recourse to Downing Street.

' It appears to us quite clear ', said Sir Samuel Griffith, the eminent Chief Justice of Australia, ' that the purpose apparent on the face of the document was that the Australians should have their domestic disputes settled finally by a domestic tribunal, and that in this respect a larger measure of independent self-government should be conferred upon them than had ever been previously conferred in the case of any British Dependency ' (see Baxter *v.* Commissioners of Taxes, N.S.W., 4 C.L.R., p. 1114).

How can this tendency be checked ? Mr. Haldane, K.C., in 1900, pointed out that in one way only could this be done, namely, ' by making our Australian colonies

feel that we offer them the finest court of ultimate appeal that the Empire can produce, and by, as I hold, giving them a part to play in its constitution.' That was the solution which was suggested by the representatives of Australia and New Zealand at the Imperial Conference of 1911, when the following resolutions came up for discussion :

Australia : 'That it is desirable that the judicial functions in regard to the Dominions now exercised by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should be vested in an Imperial Court of Appeal, which should also be the final Court of Appeal for Great Britain and Ireland.'

New Zealand : ' That it has now become evident, considering the growth of population, the diversity of laws enacted, and the differing public policies affecting legal interpretation in His Majesty's Overseas Dominions, that no Imperial Court of Appeal can be satisfactory which does not include judicial representatives of these Overseas Dominions.'

Who can doubt that in the creation of an Imperial Court of Appeal, representative of the whole Empire, lies the only possible solution of this great imperial problem ? History would indeed be repeating itself if the effect of legislation in the near future were to be that the King himself, acting upon the advice of the Privy Council, should be re-created the final Court of Appeal for all his subjects, both in Great Britain and Ireland, and in the dominions beyond the seas. The present time is peculiarly opportune for the creation of such a Court. The British Constitution is in process of reconstruction, and the Second Chamber, both in its functions and in its composition, will inevitably undergo drastic changes. It is to be hoped that by fusing the House of Lords, as a judicial tribunal, with the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a representative tribunal will be created which will act as a final Court of Appeal for the whole Empire, prove satisfactory to all the subjects of the Crown, and form an indissoluble link in the chain of imperial federation.

CHAPTER IV

SUMMARY OF IMPERIAL HISTORY

By Professor H. E. Egerton

There is no parallel in history to the British Empire. If we merely consider its self-governing portions, a comparison may be drawn with loose confederacies such as the Ionian. If we regard the Crown colonies and India, the nearest parallel is the Roman Empire. In India the King of the British dominions reigns as Emperor. In that one peninsula are no less than 700 Native States, having one-third of the area and one-fourth of the population of all India, all in a position of closer or less close allegiance to the sovereign Power. British India is still an autocracy, though tentative attempts are being made to associate the natives with the machinery of government. At the opposite pole stand the dominions, practically independent Powers, save that they recognize the King as constitutional monarch. Especially puzzling to the future student of history will be the status of Egypt, wherein the representative of what is practically the protecting Power formally occupies merely the position of a consul-general; whilst even in the actual Empire diversity of tenure, by means of full ownership, protectorate, and occupation under lease, bewilders the student. Not less striking are the contrasts of climate and of products which are found within the British possessions. In this wealth and maze of subject-matter it is impossible to give an adequate sketch of the history within a few pages. All that can be attempted is such a brief summary of the history of the settlements in Europe, America, Africa, Asia, and Australasia, as may lead to a better understanding of the British Empire of to-day. Other divisions may, for certain purposes, be

preferable, based on the form of their governments ; but for the purposes of this work a division founded on geographical considerations is the most convenient and appropriate.

Mediterranean Possessions

The Mediterranean possessions of Great Britain are mainly military strongholds. Gibraltar, at the entrance of the Mediterranean, was first taken by the English in 1704, and was formally ceded by Spain, by the Peace of Utrecht, 1713. For years the chief aim of Spanish diplomacy was to recover this fortress ; and, at the time of Great Britain's humiliation in the War of American Independence, it seemed as though the hour had come ; but the splendid defence of General Eliott (1779–83) preserved it to Great Britain ; and there has been no subsequent proposal for its restoration to Spain. The natural strength of the position has been aided by science ; and the importance of Gibraltar as a naval base and military stronghold is still great. Gibraltar.

Malta possesses more of the attributes of a colony than does Gibraltar ; but its importance is equally based on naval and military considerations. Granted by Charles V to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, Malta was taken by Napoleon, in 1797, on his way to Egypt. In 1800 it surrendered to a British force. Restored to the Knights of Malta by the Peace of Amiens, 1802, Malta had not been given up by the British when war once more broke out. It did not again change hands, and was recognized by the Treaty of Paris, 1814, as a British possession, the Maltese themselves desiring to remain British subjects. Occupying a position near the middle, from west to east, of the Mediterranean, Malta is of great importance both as a port of call and as a military stronghold. The main problem connected with it has been the difficulty of reconciling the natural aspirations of the Maltese people for some form of representative government with the exigencies of a great naval and military centre. Malta.

Cyprus.

Cyprus, which remains formally a part of the Turkish Empire, was occupied by Great Britain in 1878, under the terms of a Convention with Turkey. The lot of the Cypriot people has no doubt greatly improved under British administration; but it is doubtful how far the occupation of the island, without the fortifying of Famagusta, has added to imperial strength, and the presence of Great Britain in Egypt seems to fulfil the object for which the occupation of the island was originally desired.

British North America

The connexion between geography and history in the work of expansion has always been close. It is not merely the famous discoverer who extends the limits of empire, but thousands of unknown or forgotten pioneers, on frontier settlements, have had their share in the work of expansion. If, therefore, in the pages of this chapter, little is said of the geographical aspect of the subject, it is because it is fully treated elsewhere, and not from any want of recognition of its capital importance. In the beginnings of the English, no less than of the Spanish Empire, it was, indeed, a false geographical opinion which helped to promote progress. Just as Columbus might never have ventured across the unknown seas had he not greatly underrated the distance by the western route to the East Indies, so a wrong estimate of the width of the American continent helped to encourage the Virginian enterprise.

Origin of colonial expansion.

It is difficult to decide the exact date at which the expansion of England began. There is a sense in which John Cabot is rightly claimed as the first builder of an English overseas Empire. Newfoundland, formally annexed by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1583, is commonly spoken of as the oldest English colony, but no attempt was made by Gilbert to secure effective occupation, so that the colony, except as a resort for fishing vessels, did not take birth till a later date. Not more successful were Ralegh's attempts at colonization. A settlement was made at

Roanoke Island, off what is now North Carolina, in 1585, and the mainland formally annexed, under the name of Virginia ; but political complications in Europe and the invasion of the British Isles by the Spanish Armada prevented Ralegh from sending the necessary reinforcements and supplies, so that the infant colony perished still-born. None the less may Ralegh be considered the first great master-builder of an English Empire ; and his words, written in 1602, 'I shall yet live to see it an Inglishe nation,' give the keynote to the subsequent history. Ralegh himself, however, scarcely seems to have realized the full significance of his own words. There being, according to the convenient French definition, two kinds of expansion, *colonies d'exploitation*, plantations of products, and *colonies de peuplement*, settlements of men, Ralegh, like the men of his time, attached the greatest importance to the former type of colony, and looked to the gaining of a gold-producing counterpart to Mexico and Peru, to redress the balance of European political power. The vision of the wealth of Guiana obsessed his mind, because only by such means, as he believed, could the power of Spain be undermined. At the present time the value of colonies as a field for British emigration is obvious enough ; but in the England of the close of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century, though there was occasional economic distress owing to a variety of causes, it could not be said that there was over-population ; and in fact it proved extremely difficult to obtain labourers for new colonies. The main motives making for imperial expansion were, then, (1) the political argument. Spain and Portugal had grown powerful by means of the riches of their colonial dominions ; to secure her place in the sun, England must follow their lead. Closely connected with this view was (2) the desire for gold-mines. To the economists of the time gold and silver were the principal forms of wealth, and it was the expectation of the discovery of gold-mines which doubtless caused the general interest in the Virginia Company. But apart from the thirst for gold, there was (3) the recognition

Motives for imperial expansion.

that a colonial empire might produce many of the things that had to be obtained from foreign countries, and thus add both to the strength and to the wealth of England. A self-sufficing empire played a great part in the arguments of those advocating overseas expansion. But, whatever men's aspirations, it must be remembered that the State was still very weak, being supported neither by credit nor by adequate taxation, so that whatever was attempted in the way of expansion must have been by means of private enterprise.

Trading companies.

But the task was beyond the power of private individuals, so that associated effort was necessary for success. Trading companies were accordingly formed, chartered by the Crown. These companies were of two kinds, the regulated and the joint-stock. The regulated companies were merely a collection of independent individuals carrying on the same trade, a sort of enlarged monopolies, on the lines of the ancient town trades corporations. In the joint-stock companies, on the other hand, the directors who had the management of the common capital possessed no interests separate from those of the common undertaking. The limitation of liability, to the extent of the holding, enabled men of small means to take their share in the work. In December 1600 the English East India Company received its charter, its intention being to confine itself to trade, with no idea of a future empire. The financial success which attended the first years of the East India Company may have encouraged the English merchants to embark upon the less promising scheme of the Virginia Company, a leading merchant, Sir Thomas Smith, being at the head of both corporations. A charter was obtained for the Virginia Company in 1606, and in the following year the colony took permanent shape. The first idea had been to confer semi-independent powers of government upon the individual grantee after the model of the feudal Palatinates ; but the charter of 1606 sought to retain governmental power in the hands of a Council for Virginia. It was soon realized, however, that whosoever pays the piper must call the tune ; and in 1609 the

Virginia Company.

Virginia Company was recognized as master in its own house. At the same time the limits of the colony were greatly extended, so as to include all lands lying between 40° and 48° north latitude. Although Virginia maintained its existence and the first settlement at Jamestown was supplemented by the foundation of others, its progress, in the absence of the precious metals, was necessarily slow. Amongst the settlers were too many adventurers and gentlemen, and too few mechanics and labourers. Meanwhile in England the quarterly courts of the Company were the scene of brawls between rival factions. A massacre of settlers by Indians in 1622 further weakened the colony; and the King thus found the opportunity to revoke (1624) the charter of the Company, Virginia henceforth falling under the direct control of the Crown. Already, however, in 1619, a colonial representative Assembly had been set on foot, and this institution, though at first with some hesitation, the home government decided to recognize. The form of colonial government became thus stereotyped, consisting of a Governor, appointed by the Crown, a nominated Council, which served the double purpose of an Executive Council, to advise the Governor, and of a Legislative Council, to fulfil the functions of a second chamber, and lastly of a representative Assembly, elected on a suffrage genuinely democratic. The Virginia Company having cleared the way, individuals might hope to reap profit from colonies. Accordingly Lord Baltimore, a Court favourite, received a patent (1632) for Maryland, which was carved out of the northern portion of Virginia. Himself a Roman Catholic, Baltimore found it necessary, in order to secure settlers for his colony, to promise religious toleration. Meanwhile a more potent influence had been brought into play on behalf of colonial expansion. However dimly they may have recognized it, the principle of colonies, as safety-valves for religious dissent, was recognized in practice by the Stuart Kings. In 1620 the Pilgrim Fathers founded Plymouth; and in 1629 a patent to the Massachusetts Company enabled Puritanism to set up a powerful organization in the New World. Under

Massachusetts Company.

the terms of the charter it proved possible to transfer the seat of government of the company to America. It had never been, in intention, a trading company; and the result of such transference was the merging of the company in a self-governing community, the condition precedent to membership of which was membership of a congregationalist church. The exodus from England during the first years of Charles's struggle with Parliament supplied such a body of emigrants of all classes as has never perhaps been equalled in the history of colonial development. Massachusetts, having owed nothing in its institution to the mother country, maintained the model of complete self-government, the Governor himself being an elected officer until the time of the second charter of 1691. When the dissidence of dissent gave birth to the daughter New England colonies of Newhaven, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, they naturally took the same line as did Massachusetts; while their comparative weakness left them untouched when the government of Massachusetts was remodelled. A charter to eight leading public men in 1663 led to the foundation of the Carolinas, though the genius of Shaftesbury and Locke was unavailing to secure for the new colony more than a precarious existence. By this time the *raison d'être* of colonies had come to be recognized, according to the principles of the mercantile system. Their use was to promote the shipping and the trade of the mother country. The latter object could be effected by promoting in them the growth of raw products, to be developed by the English manufacturer, and by securing in their markets a monopoly for English-made goods. It was to achieve these ends that the various Navigation Acts were enacted. Such being the ideas of the time, the existence of a Dutch possession between Connecticut and the Southern English colonies was a continual thorn in the side. So long as New Netherland remained Dutch, the Navigation Laws could be made a dead letter. Economic necessity, therefore, seemed to justify the high-handed annexation of New Netherland in 1664. Nor had the rule of the Dutch West India

Navigation Acts.

Company been such as to cause the inhabitants to regret their change of masters. In 1681 a charter to William Penn enabled the holy experiment to be tried of a colony founded on Quaker principles. Delaware was at first attached to Pennsylvania; and New Hampshire, after being a shuttlecock between the rival claims of Crown grantees and Massachusetts, at the settlement of 1691 was made a separate colony. The last American colony was added to the list in 1732, when the philanthropic Oglethorpe sought to establish in Georgia a refuge for insolvent debtors and a bulwark against Spanish aggression.

Diverse characters of colonies: laxity of government.

During all these years the prevailing note amongst all these colonies was one of diversity. Royal, proprietary, and corporate colonies existed side by side, and the religious and social character of the different provinces was wholly different. Still throughout, even in Virginia, where alone there prevailed a system of large landed estates, the tone of public and private life was far more democratic than it was in England, and it was this essential antinomy of thought, rather than individual measures, which was the real cause of the American Revolution. The English government was far from tyrannical. The New England colonies, indeed, were practically independent states; and everywhere committees of the Assembly had been able, through the power of the purse, dangerously to intrude upon the province of the executive. The provisions of the Navigation Laws sound to us sufficiently galling; but they were accepted at the time as more or less a matter of course. They were in fact easily evaded, with public opinion everywhere opposed to the enforcement of the law. The discouragement of colonial manufactures was no great grievance, since the scarcity and dearness of labour forbade their development, and it must be remembered that the hardships of the system were counterbalanced by bounties and preferential treatment, so that it is difficult to say whether the advantages or the disadvantages were the greater.

Anglo-Saxon opposition in North America.

It was this collection of diverse and sometimes hostile communities, only knit together by the links of a common fiscal system, which found itself at the beginning of the eighteenth century opposed to a Power which was already beginning to aim at the hegemony of North America. The settled policy of France was to connect Canada at the north with Louisiana at the south, and so to close in the English colonies within the portals of the Alleghany Mountains. The population of New France was so small compared with that of the English colonies that the attempt to us now seems almost ludicrous. Nevertheless, the battle is not always to the more numerous, and organization and leadership may countervail superiority of numbers. In Queen Anne's war the frontiers of New England were the main scene of operations ; and, though the French were often successful and a British expedition against Quebec ended in complete failure, victories in Europe secured that, at the Peace of Utrecht in 1713, Acadia, which had been conquered in 1690, became a British possession. At the same time Newfoundland and the Hudson's Bay Company's territories were recognized as British, and the sovereignty of Great Britain over the Iroquois Indians was also admitted. The value of the Hudson's Bay territories lay in the fur-trade. The establishment of English ports had been owing to the action of two French deserters, and the Hudson's Bay Company was chartered in 1670 to develop the trade. In this connexion it should be noted that at the time of the conquest of Canada in 1760 the fur-trade represented its main source of wealth. Acadia, as we have seen, had become British. But what was meant by Acadia? In the past the French had maintained that it extended far down into what is now the State of Maine. After the Peace of Utrecht they urged that it included only the actual peninsula of Nova Scotia, leaving what is now New Brunswick to New France. This question was never settled till the British conquest of Canada made it of no practical importance. But whatever its limits, Nova Scotia (as Acadia was now termed) showed that in the

Hudson's Bay Company.

Peace of Utrecht.

work of expansion mere conquest without development is valueless. It was hoped at first to attract settlers from New England ; but neither New nor Old England had the population available to provide immigrants. Consequently the French Acadians were left in a kind of dull neutrality, between the British Government, which claimed their allegiance but did not enforce its rights, and their old French masters, who called in aid the power of the Roman Catholic Church to prevent their settling down as peaceable British subjects. The deportation of the Acadians in 1755 was the price paid in a moment of panic for past neglect.

The Peace of Utrecht brought no lasting peace in America ; and with the development of Louisiana the French became more determined in their designs against the British colonies. Cape Breton Island was occupied to retrieve the loss of Acadia, and Louisburg, its capital, strongly fortified. It was captured, however, in the war of the Austrian Succession (1745) by a New England expedition ; and its restoration to France by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), in exchange for Madras, was one of the causes which contributed to the growth of discontent with Great Britain. With the signing of the Peace the French sought in haste to occupy the western country, watered by the Ohio River ; and it was here that British and French again first came in conflict.

Conquest of Canada.

The Seven Years' War, which began in disasters to Great Britain, ended in triumph, owing to the genius of the elder Pitt and the instruments whom he inspired. Cape Breton Island became British in 1758, and, by the occupation of Fort Du Quesne in the same year, the British forces obtained the possession of the western country. In 1759, Quebec was taken, and, with the capitulation of Montreal in the following year, Canada became a British possession.

With the French incubus removed, the American colonies no longer needed the protection of the mother country ; and when a policy, at once more narrow and more systematic, sought to extract from them a fair share

of the burden of imperial expenditure, they finally resisted by force and declared themselves independent.

Early government.

Meanwhile Canada was being ruled in the manner most suited to a primitive people. The French régime had been a pure autocracy; the form of feudalism introduced securing rude comfort and fixity of tenure to an agricultural population, with very low rents and few of the burdens of the feudal system. Education had been, except in the case of the convent schools, almost wholly neglected, and there was not a printing press in the colony. In this state of things, a representative Assembly would have been impossible; and though an ill-considered Proclamation of 1763 held out the promise of such an Assembly, and seemed to abolish the whole system of French law, the general policy of the British governors was to conciliate the French population, and as far as possible to carry out the government on lines congenial and familiar to them. Such a policy found its recognition in the Quebec Act of 1774, which enforced the payment of tithes by Roman Catholics, thus ensuring to the British Government the support of the Roman Church, and restored, in civil matters, the dominance of the French law. A nominated Council was set on foot with very restricted powers as to taxation. The Quebec Act was well suited to the circumstances of the time; nor did the Canadians, though much solicited, show any great inclination to throw in their lot with the American colonies. In another way, however, the issue of the War of Independence greatly affected Canada. Hitherto, as we have seen, Canada had been a purely French province, with the exception of some two or three hundred English traders in the towns. The harsh treatment accorded to the Loyalists in the American states, and the failure to comply with the spirit and even the letter of the Treaty of 1783, caused great numbers of these Loyalists to seek a new home in British North America. At first the majority went to Nova Scotia, out of which a new province, New Brunswick, was carved in 1784; very many, however, went to the western portion of Canada, the first settle-

ments being made along the Bay of Quinté at the eastern end of Lake Ontario. The coming of these Loyalists to Canada altogether changed the political situation. They were naturally unwilling to come under the dominion of French law; whilst, accustomed as they had been to a representative assembly, they could not permanently be deprived of one. But the French seemed entitled to the same treatment as the English; when, therefore, it was decided to divide the province, so as to secure the dominance of English law in Upper Canada, a representative Assembly was given to the Lower, as well as to the Upper, Province. The system of government known as representative, in which an Assembly legislates without possessing any control of the executive, has always led to friction and disputes. In Lower Canada the matter was complicated by racial antagonism between British and French, representing roughly town and country interests. The absence of education and any kind of political apprenticeship aggravated difficulties, the French *habitants* blindly following leaders who, as lawyers or doctors, had risen from their own ranks. Still the bitterness was perhaps chiefly on the surface; and when, in 1812, Great Britain and the United States were again at war, the French Canadians gave loyal support to the government, and, though the main scene of operations was elsewhere, gave conspicuous proof of gallantry when the opportunity arose. This being so, it was regrettable that, on the conclusion of peace, no serious attempt was made to mend matters. No doubt the French showed no moderation in their claims, whilst the Home Government wished to be conciliatory. The French leaders did not realize the necessity of responsible government, and the main ground of dispute was over the questions whether or not the Assembly should have the control of all the sources of revenue and whether or not the Legislative Council should be elective. The British minority, who had by this time grown in numbers and importance, honestly believed that they could not trust their interests to bodies elected by a preponderance of French votes;

Racial antagonism.

and therefore, whatever their views in the abstract, clung closely to a nominated Legislative Council ; nor could the Home Government, in the face of this opinion, make the concession. There is no doubt that the French were prejudiced by the fear of Anglo-Saxon immigration, and blocked many commercial improvements because these were connected with the interests of the British community. The actual work of administration was too often neglected for sterile political controversy ; and the French leaders proved themselves not well suited for the give and take of British public life. Upon the other hand, individual Englishmen were no doubt often exasperating and insolent. It was provoking for the Assembly to see their work made inoperative by the Council, and the Governor's body of advisers seem to have been too often narrow and prejudiced in their views. During the first years of British rule Canada had cost more than it contributed ; but, after that in 1818 it provided for its own ordinary expenses, the power of the purse put a weapon in the hands of a hostile Assembly which it was prompt to use. At last matters came to a political deadlock, and the abortive rebellion of 1837–8 was perhaps beneficial, because it compelled the Home Government to look the situation in the face, and caused the mission of Lord Durham which brought about the political regeneration of Canada.

Relations between Upper and Lower Canada.

At first the Upper Canadian pioneers, in their war with the wilderness, had little time to give to political questions. But, with the gradual growth of the colony, largely the result of new immigration from the United States, the defective system of government brought its inevitable result. Here the main controversy was over the favoured position of the English Established Church, in a country where the majority of the people were dissenters from that Church. Discontent was further caused by the fact that the spoils of office remained the appanage of a small clique known as 'the family compact', which was able to put a spoke in the wheel of the decisions of the representative Assembly. Political discontent was no doubt

further aggravated by economic considerations, due to Upper Canada's position with no outlet to Europe save through the Lower Province, which stubbornly refused to co-operate in works, such as canals, which would have benefited both provinces. The inability of the two to come to terms, with regard to the proportion of the import duties to be allotted to the Upper Province, almost led, in 1822, to a union of the two provinces. The French Canadians, however, were strongly opposed to such union, and the governing faction in Upper Canada was, for different reasons, equally hostile; so that the British Government contented themselves with passing through Parliament provisions regarding the fiscal relations of the two provinces.

In Upper Canada, as well as in Lower, political disaffection at last found vent in insurrection; but the actual rising was mainly due to the morbid despair of an individual demagogue and to the conceited self-confidence of the Lieutenant-Governor. The great majority of the people, who desired constitutional change, had no wish to obtain it by means of open rebellion. But here also the political breakdown gave the opportunity for Lord Durham's drastic remedies.

Maritime Provinces.

In a brief sketch little need be said of the early years of the Maritime Provinces. We have seen that Nova Scotia was at first neglected; but in 1749 Halifax was founded as a port and place of arms, at which old soldiers and sailors were assisted to settle. Henceforth Halifax gave the dominant note to the colony and made its character pre-eminently conservative and British. Still in Nova Scotia there was discontent on the subject of quit-rents and the favoured position of the English Church, and there was the same grievance as in Canada regarding 'the family compact'. New Brunswick had its own special grievance in the reservation of large tracts of land for the growth of masts for the Royal Navy. When, at last, by the Ashburton Treaty in 1842, the old boundary question was settled, the settlement arrived at proved very distasteful to the British province; but authorities

are now mainly agreed that the mischief arose from the inconvenience of the colonial boundaries of Nova Scotia and Massachusetts, and that, given the past conditions, Lord Ashburton was fortunate in obtaining for Great Britain as much as he did. Cape Breton Island was for a time a separate government, but in 1820 it was re-annexed to Nova Scotia. The refusal of the British Government to allow, at first, the coal-mines to be worked throws a curious light on the colonial policy of the time. St. John's Island, renamed Prince Edward Island in 1798, was made a separate government in 1770. Nearly the whole of the island was in 1767 alienated on one day, mostly to absentees ; a heritage of trouble which was not finally ended till nearly a hundred years later.

Lord Durham's recommendations: union and responsible government.

Lord Durham made two main recommendations, the union of the Canadas and the granting of full responsible government. The Home Government adopted his first recommendation and decided tentatively to introduce a modified form of responsible government. Holders of official posts were clearly to understand that they had no vested right to their offices during good behaviour. At the same time full ministerial responsibility to a colonial assembly appeared to Lord John Russell and most British statesmen of the time incompatible with the maintenance of colonial subordination. Durham's successor, Lord Sydenham, solved the difficulty by becoming, through the exercise of great industry and tact, his own first minister ; but few men were capable of such exertions, and after Sir C. Metcalfe had with temporary success endeavoured to withstand the incoming tide, Lord Elgin recognized to the full in 1848 the principle of responsible government. Henceforth the Governor stood above and outside the disputes of parties, in the position of a constitutional monarch, when domestic questions were concerned, though ready to exert his authority should imperial interests be affected. About the same time, or a little later, the Maritime Provinces and Newfoundland, whose uneventful history need not detain us here, were granted the same form of government. It is characteristic of

British ways that this great change could be made quietly, without legislative enactment. But although the Home Government threw no obstacles in the way, the path of colonial political development was by no means easy. Responsible government means party government; and the circumstances of a new country are not such as to make party government a simple matter. In Canada the subject was further complicated by the existence, side by side, of French and English, regarding public questions from a different point of view, even when they shared common names. It was the deadlock which occurred under the union that led Canadian politicians to reconcile themselves to the idea of federation. But another cause was at work making for such federation. The Canada we have hitherto spoken of was merely that portion of the Dominion which is now included in Quebec and Ontario; but the conception of a Greater Canada was slowly dawning, which should include British North America from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. In 1789 Alexander Mackenzie followed the course of the river named after him from the Great Slave Lake to the Pacific. In 1793 he crossed the Rocky Mountains and reached the Pacific somewhere about the mouth of Simpson's River, taking possession of the country in the name of Canada. But nothing was done in the way of effective occupation, except that the North-West Company erected posts for the fur trade between the Grand Portage and the Great Slave Lake. In 1811, however, Lord Selkirk obtained a grant from the Hudson's Bay Company and founded a settlement of Scottish Highlanders in the valley of the Red River on the future site of Winnipeg. In spite of the hostility of the North-West Company the settlement continued to exist; but it was not till it became a part of the Dominion that it became prosperous. In the forties of the nineteenth century the question of the ownership of the territories west of the Rocky Mountains came in question between Great Britain and the United States. An agreement of 1818 had made a line drawn from the most north-western point of the Lake-of-the

The opening of the far west.

Woods along the line of 49° N. lat. the boundary as far as the Rocky Mountains ; but nothing had been said as to the lands beyond. This Oregon territory comprised what is now British Columbia as well as the American States of Washington, Oregon, and Idaho, an area of some 600,000 square miles. The whole of this vast area was claimed by both Powers, though Great Britain, through the Hudson's Bay Company, was at first most active in the assertion of its rights. In 1843, however, a great influx of Americans into the country altered the aspect of affairs. For a time there was danger of war, but in 1846 the matter was settled by the continuation of the boundary line westward along the line of 49° N. lat. to the middle of the channel separating Vancouver Island from the continent, so as to give the whole of Vancouver Island to Great Britain. Vancouver Island made little progress while under the rule of the Hudson's Bay Company, and it was only the discovery of gold in the Fraser River, in 1856, which led to the development of what became in 1858 a Crown colony under the name of British Columbia. British Columbia and Vancouver Island were united in 1866, and the way was thus prepared for their entrance into the Canadian Confederation, which took place in 1871, the government of the Dominion undertaking to secure the completion of a railway connecting the sea-board of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada within ten years.

The prairie provinces.

It will have been noted that British Columbia and Canada were separated by the domains of the Hudson's Bay Company, on which there had been no agricultural settlement save on the Red River. But, in time, Canadian statesmen came to recognize that this vast area was their natural hinterland, subject, so long as it remained a no man's land, to the risk of an American influx of settlers. The difficulty was with regard to the legal position of the Hudson's Bay Company, whose rights many Canadians denied. In 1869, however, an agreement was arrived at, under which the Company, in return for £300,000 and a large grant of lands, surrendered their territorial rights

in the north-west to the Crown. In 1870 Manitoba was made a province of the Dominion, while the North-West Territories received a territorial government. The leading feature in the recent history of Canada has been the development of the west. In 1905 the new provinces of Saskatchewan and Alberta were carved out of the North-West Territories. Population has grown by leaps and bounds, Great Britain and the United States vying with each other in taking the lead in providing settlers. As in the United States so in Canada, the centre of political power tends to shift from the east to the central west. What will be the ultimate result we cannot tell; but already Canada is becoming a nation, ready to undertake the responsibilities of a nation. The colonial status is becoming a thing of the past; and in the British Empire of to-morrow the Dominion of Canada will take its place as an equal partner, with common obligations as well as rights.

The West Indies

Early importance of West Indian colonies

No greater contrast could be imagined than the position of the West Indies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and their position to-day. They then were held to exceed in importance the continental colonies and the statistics of their trade justified such an opinion. From the point of view of the mercantile system, indeed, these islands were ideal colonies; their products being of such a character as did not involve competition with the English producer. In spite of the warmth of their climate the West Indies were not mere plantations for production, they were also settlements of men. The system of slavery in time put an end to white labour, except in the form of overseers; but, at first, especially in Barbados, there was a considerable population of the lower classes. Moreover, the system of government introduced was the same as that of the American colonies. Government by a Governor, a nominated Council, and a representative Assembly prevailed.

Bermuda.

Closely connected with the West Indies, though not

strictly belonging to them, and outside the tropics, is Bermuda. These islands first attracted the notice of the English through the shipwreck there of Sir G. Somers on his way to Virginia in 1609. In 1615 a chartered company was formed for the development of the islands, some emigrants having been already sent out. The rule of the chartered company proving distasteful to the settlers, its charter was abolished. The chief business of the inhabitants was the building and navigating of light sloops, employed chiefly in the trade between North America and the West Indies. But the population for many years tended to diminish. At present such prosperity as the Bermudas enjoy is owing to the fact that they are a station for the British Navy, and a health resort for visitors from the mainland of North America.

Distinct political but common economic history.

The presence of the English in the West Indies was assisted by the neglect by the Spanish of the smaller islands in their eagerness for gold. Although the political history of the various groups has been distinct, economically they have generally followed the same lines. In all of them slave labour from West Africa performed manual operations. Sugar, for the most part, superseded other agricultural products ; so that when slavery was abolished (1835) and the preferential treatment of West Indian sugar ceased in the British market, through the adoption of free trade, the economic position of the West Indies became very precarious. The encouragement of the growth of beet sugar in Europe, by means of bounties, made matters worse ; but the growth of products other than cane sugar, together with restrictions for some years on the bounty system in European countries, has restored to some extent confidence and prosperity ; while no little may be expected from a system of mutual preferences between Canada and the West Indies, and generally from the growing connexion of these islands and of British Guiana with British North America.

Early settlement.

The West Indies consist of (1) the Bahamas, (2) Jamaica, with its dependencies the Turks and Caicos Islands and the Caymans, (3) the Leeward Islands, (4) Barbados,

(5) the Windward Islands, and (6) Trinidad and Tobago. Upon the mainland are (7) British Honduras and (8) British Guiana.. The Bahamas, first formally settled in 1670, having already for years been a shelter for pirates, are mainly noteworthy as a connecting link between the West Indian semicircle and the American mainland. Jamaica was taken from Spain in 1655 by an English expedition which had aimed at Hispaniola. The Spanish population had been small; but Cromwell encouraged immigration to the island, and, on the accession of Charles II, Jamaica was given a representative Assembly. Its fortunes were for some years largely bound up with those of the buccaneers. Thus we find Henry Morgan the buccaneer, who in 1670 sacked Panama, afterwards lieutenant-governor of the island. Owing mainly to its size Jamaica took the lead among the West India islands; and it is curious to find on this little stage constitutional pretensions which rivalled those of the American colonies. An earthquake in 1692 caused the destruction of the first capital, Port Royal; but Kingston rose to importance on its ashes, and during the eighteenth century Jamaica grew rich on the moneys expended by British fleets. The black population grew rapidly; and nowhere were the consequences of slave emancipation more severely felt or more bitterly resented. Economic unrest no doubt was closely connected with the political bitterness which found vent in a little rebellion in 1865. The action of Governor Eyre in applying martial law was much criticized in England; and the end of the matter was that the white colonists voluntarily abandoned their old constitution and Jamaica became a Crown colony; an elective element in the legislative Assembly being, however, restored in 1884. Jamaica is fortunate in its climate, its harbours, and its fertility. Fruit is the principal article of export, but sugar is still an important product; Jamaica rum maintains its reputation and coffee is grown on the Blue Mountains. The Leeward Islands include, among other islands, Antigua, St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, Dominica, and the Virgin Islands. In 1625 St. Kitts was amicably

Jamaica.

Leeward Islands.

divided between England and France. This little island was the point from which Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat were settled. Dominica, however, remained generally a French possession till the Peace of Paris, 1763, gave it to England.

Barbados. Unlike the Leeward Islands, which often changed masters, Barbados has remained throughout its history English. First settled in 1625 or 1627, it had in 1636 an estimated English population of some 6,000. Its population was further increased by royalist immigrants flying from the oppression of Parliament ; so that in 1656 there were said to be at least 25,000 Christians. Cromwell found it necessary to bring to terms Barbados as well as Virginia ; and it is noteworthy that the Barbadians made the better show of resistance. The importance of the island is further shown by the fact that it seems at one time to have been intended to allow it representation in the English Parliament. It was called in 1663 the metropolis of the West Indies ; and it provided settlers for Jamaica, Tobago, and other islands. Inasmuch as it lies further out to sea, the climate of the island is better suited for Europeans than that of the other islands.

Windward Islands. Of the Windward Islands, consisting of St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Grenada, little need here be said. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, St. Lucia and St. Vincent, as well as Dominica and Tobago, were recognized as neutral. Under the Treaty of Paris, 1763, St. Vincent and Grenada were ceded to Great Britain and St. Lucia restored to France. The latter, however, became definitely British by the Treaty of 1814. Although Trinidad was included in English grants, it remained exclusively Spanish until, after being conquered in 1797, it was recognized by the Peace of Amiens, 1802, as a British possession. The main feature in the history of the colony during the nineteenth century was the introduction of many thousands of coolie immigrants from India. These people, remaining in the island after the termination of their period of service, have altered the character of

the population and have greatly helped to bring about prosperity. Cocoa is now of greater importance than is sugar; and asphalt has become a source of wealth. Tobago first became a recognized British possession by the Peace of 1763. Ceded to France in 1783, it became finally British in 1814, and in 1899 was attached to Trinidad.

British Honduras owed its origin to the log-cutting for many years carried on by the English on the shores of the bay. The Peace of 1763 formally recognized British rights to the log-cutting; and in 1798 a Spanish invading force was defeated. Henceforth British Honduras was recognized as a British colony. British Honduras.

Of more importance is British Guiana in South America. Although there were English settlements in the seventeenth century in Surinam, in what is now Dutch Guiana, the present province of British Guiana was exclusively Dutch till its conquest by the English in the great war with France. In 1814 Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice were definitely ceded to Great Britain. Even more than in Trinidad coolie immigration has altered the character of the population, so that now more than one-third is of Indian origin. British Guiana produces more sugar than any other West Indian colony and a considerable amount of gold. The settlement of the boundary questions with Venezuela and Brazil has been of much benefit to the colony. It was the foresight and energy of a Dutch governor in the eighteenth century which enabled Great Britain to justify her claims in 1899 under arbitration. British Guiana.

In striking contrast to the tropical West Indies are the wind-swept Falkland Islands. First occupied by Great Britain in 1765, for some time they were abandoned; but in 1832 British sovereignty was again asserted, and in 1843 a civil government was established. Their main product is wool, and sheep-farming is the chief industry of the small British community. Falkland Islands.

Africa

Ascension, St. Helena, Tristan da Cunha.

Before dealing with the African mainland mention may be made of the islands Ascension, St. Helena, and Tristan da Cunha, in the South Atlantic. Ascension was occupied by the British in 1815 and remains still under the control of the Admiralty. It has been described as ' a series of extinct volcano cones ' and suffers from want of water. The climate, however, is healthy. St. Helena was occupied by the English East India Company as early as 1651. Taken by the Dutch and recovered from them in the seventeenth century, St. Helena first acquired fame as the prison house of Napoleon. It came under the control of the Crown in 1834, but its importance is now very small. The three islands of Tristan da Cunha were occupied by the British in 1816, but the garrison was removed in the following year. An artilleryman, who remained behind with his wife and family, was the founder of the little community which is still in existence.

West Africa.

The West African posts established by England were in close connexion with the West Indies. There was no question of settlement ; and the stations set on foot were mere trade dépôts. Unhappily the most lucrative trade was that in human life, so that the slave trade, in effect, swallowed up all others. The devastation left by it continued long after its abolition and prevented for many years the development of West Africa. In 1618 forts were erected on the Gambia and at Cormantine on the Gold Coast by an Africa Company chartered in the same year. It was not till the development of the growth of sugar in the West Indies that the English began to take an active part in the slave trade. In 1662 another Africa Company received its charter, for the purpose of supplying slaves to the English West Indies. It met with failure and was reconstituted under the title of the Royal Africa Company. The monopoly enjoyed by this company was very unpopular in the West Indies. The value attached to the slave trade was shown by the care taken

to secure for Great Britain at the time of the Peace of Utrecht the Assiento contract, under which the English Company secured for thirty years the right to introduce 4,800 slaves a year into the Spanish colonies. But the business proved by no means profitable; indeed, hardly at any time does the slave trade appear to have been profitable. Cheap slave labour was so essential to the islands that only for a brief period was a monopoly allowed to any one company; but, without such a monopoly, the task of maintaining forts and trading posts put an unfair burden on the shoulders of the chartered company. At last in 1763 the Crown recognized its responsibility for the Gambia district; but even as late as 1821 the forts on the Gold Coast were placed under the control of the merchants trading to Africa.

English, Dutch, and French competition.

On the Gold Coast the English and the Dutch were the chief competitors. Cormantine was taken from the former, who strengthened in its stead Cape Coast Castle. North of the Gold Coast, the French had for the most part the predominance along the Senegal river, and the English along the Gambia. The *raison d'être* of the West African forts had been the protection of the slave trade. What was to happen when that trade was abolished (1807)? No effort had been made to penetrate the interior and nothing in the nature of colonization had been attempted. At first these posts remained useful for the purposes of suppressing the slave trade. Already in 1787 the colony of Sierra Leone had been established as an asylum for negroes escaping from the system of slavery; and a complete withdrawal by Great Britain from West Africa would have been stoutly resisted by the philanthropic bodies, which were of great political importance in the first half of the nineteenth century. A kind of *tertium quid* between abandonment and the assumption of complete sovereignty was attempted on the Gold Coast, by means of the merchants' government. But such a system was inevitably provisional; and in 1843 the British Government again took over the Gold Coast, though it did not become a separate colony till 1850. In the same

year the purchase of the Danish forts largely added to the hinterland of the colony.

Meanwhile further cessions were obtained on the Gambia, and the limits of Sierra Leone greatly extended; while in 1861, with a view to the suppression of the slave trade, the island of Lagos was ceded to Great Britain.

Britain and France, 1865–84.

But, though the ultimate expansion of the British colonies may have been inevitable, it was very little to the mind of British public men in the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1865 a House of Commons Committee reported that any further extension of territory would be inexpedient; and that the natives should be rendered capable of taking over the administration with a view to a British withdrawal from all the colonies except Sierra Leone. As a preparation for this, Sierra Leone was made in 1866 the seat of government of all the West African dependencies; but this change was only temporary, and was without consequences. In 1871 the cession of the Dutch forts on the Gold Coast to Great Britain led to the Ashanti war of 1873–4, which undermined the power of the Ashanti Kingdom, and thus afterwards indirectly led to further British expansion.

In any case the new state of things which ensued after the Franco-German war of 1870–1 necessitated a change of policy, unless Great Britain was to hand over to others her possessions. Even before that war France had begun to aim at linking her North African Empire with Senegambia. From 1876 onwards the work of extending Senegambia to the Niger and of making the Western Sudan wholly French was vigorously pursued. Fortunately for British interests the influence of the trading company, which became the Royal Niger Company, secured the dominance of British interests in the Lower Niger, and in 1884 the British Government, as a countermove to the annexation by Germany of Kamerun, established a British protectorate along the coast-line of the Niger delta and the Oil Rivers.

German colonization: the partition of Africa.

The appearance of Germany upon the scene as a power anxious for a colonial empire necessitated the partition of Africa. The Berlin Conference of 1885 supplied rules for the game, such as that occupation on the coast, to be recognized, must be effective. It remained to draw the boundary-lines between the possessions and protected areas of the rival powers. In order to make good the British claim to the Niger region a formal protectorate was proclaimed over the coast districts and over the country inland as far as the confluence of the Niger and the Benue, as well as over any territories in the interior which had become subject to the newly chartered Royal Niger Company, which by its charter had obtained governmental powers. The French, however, were dissatisfied with their share of the country watered by the Niger, and fear of political complications led to the assumption by the Crown of the administration of the Niger Company's territories, in 1900. The company continued as a trading concern; but its political work, the acquisition to Great Britain of Nigeria, had been accomplished.

Anglo-French boundaries: Nigeria.

In 1898 a successful delimitation of the French and English boundaries was at last arrived at. West Africa began to be regarded not merely from the point of view of the coast when in 1797 the African Association sent out Mungo Park to explore the Upper Niger; and subsequent explorers, Tuckey, Clapperton, Lander, and Laing, carried on the same work; but the principle that Great Britain's interests in West Africa were not bounded with the coast never received formal expression till the Niger Company undertook the task of creating out of the district watered by the Niger a new India. Southern Nigeria was first joined to Lagos. In 1906 the colony of Southern Nigeria was formed and was amalgamated with the Lagos colony and protectorate. Now, owing to the railway, it is possible to combine the two Nigerias. Northern Nigeria consists of some 256,000 square miles, Southern Nigeria of 80,000 square miles. The population of the country is about seventeen millions, Northern Nigeria being mainly dominated by a semi-Semitic race of a

comparatively advanced civilization. The work of railway development has been extensively undertaken, a railway now going as far as Kano ; and with that development the suitability of the country for the growth of cotton and other products will be proved. In the partition of Africa, in area the share of France exceeds that of Great Britain ; but it does not follow that the latter has come off second best in the struggle.

British East Africa : Uganda : Zanzibar.

In East Africa no less than in West Africa the machinery of a chartered company supplied the means by which time was given to public opinion at home to accustom itself to the idea of expansion. Just as, but for Sir R. Goldie, Nigeria would now probably be French, so, but for Sir W. MacKinnon, British East Africa would now almost certainly be German. British East Africa includes British East Africa proper and the Uganda Protectorate. British interests in East Africa were at first limited to the suppression of the slave trade ; and when, in 1877, the Sultan of Zanzibar offered to Great Britain a concession of the coast-line along the mainland, the offer was rejected. As elsewhere, German intervention led to a change of policy on the part of Great Britain ; and an agreement of 1886 attempted to settle partially the respective spheres of influence of the two Powers. This agreement led in 1887 to a grant from the Sultan of Zanzibar of the East African coast-line between the Umba river and Kipini to Sir William MacKinnon and the British East African Association, which in 1888 received a royal charter under the name of the Imperial British East Africa Company. To this company was owing the consolidation of British interests. British influence was established in the interior in Uganda, and a satisfactory boundary secured between the British and German spheres of influence ; Germany recognizing the Umba river as its northern boundary, and all between the Umba and Juba rivers as British. The Sultan of Zanzibar had already accepted the protection of Great Britain. But the work undertaken by the British East Africa Company was more than it could perform. It was necessary to secure the

control of Uganda; whilst there were still fears that Germany was meditating its annexation. Captain Lugard, who represented the company, was unable to prevent the outbreak of a fierce civil war between the Catholic and Protestant factions of Uganda, though he succeeded in bringing it to a close. The expenses, however, connected with the administration of the country were more than the company could meet, and in 1891 it felt constrained to withdraw from Uganda. The Home Government, after some hesitation, decided against a withdrawal, which would have meant a renunciation of any share in the work of the suppression of slavery and of the development of the future commerce of East and Central Africa. The British East Africa Company surrendered its charter, in return for a money payment, a British protectorate over Uganda having been already proclaimed. The limits of Uganda now extend as far as the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. The importance, from the point of view of Egyptian interests, of retaining the control of the region from which start the Nile waters is clear enough.

Unlike Uganda, the hill country of British East Africa appears to be a white man's country, where settlers can rear children. Hitherto the most important thing connected with the colony has been the construction of a railway from Mombasa on the coast to a point on the north-eastern corner of Victoria Nyanza, a distance of 580 miles. Its construction proved a costly operation; but its utility is already apparent.

Anglo-Egyptian Sudan.

In connexion with British East Africa brief mention may be made of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan over which Great Britain and Egypt now share the sovereignty. Its definite abandonment, after the failure of the relief expedition and the death of General Gordon, in January 1885, had never been approved either in Egypt or England; and, when the Egyptian army had been reorganized, it was determined at once to regain the country for civilization and to forestall any foreign designs. The complete reconquest of the Sudan was the work of three years, 1896–9; the railway from Cairo to Khartoum being

opened in the latter year. The British advance was only just in time, as, when Kitchener arrived at Khartoum in 1898, he found a French expedition from the Congo already stationed at Fashoda, some 400 miles up the Nile. It was, however, induced to withdraw ; and the French in 1899 agreed to recognize the British position in the Sudan in return for the recognition of their position in Tunis. It was of necessity the work of years for the country to revive after the waste of life and property caused by the wars of the Mahdi ; but the soil seems well suited to valuable crops, such as cotton, and under the aegis of the Pax Britannica a new generation is growing up to a life of industry and prosperity.

British Somaliland.

British Somaliland must be considered along with British East Africa ; it being part of that horn of Africa wherein Great Britain, France, Italy, and Abyssinia have spheres of influence. The partition of Somaliland was due to the retirement of the Egyptian garrisons in 1884. At first the British protectorate was under the charge of the British Resident at Aden, but in 1898 a separate commissioner was appointed to British Somaliland. Effective occupation is confined to the coast, where the harbour of Berbera is of some importance. The doings of the Mullah in the interior have given an unfortunate prominence to Somaliland.

South Africa : Dutch settlers and English missionaries.

In broad contrast with the African tropical dependencies, which we have been hitherto considering, stands the Union of South Africa, at the present time a great self-governing dominion, ranking with Canada and Australia. Cape Colony was captured from the Dutch, to forestall a French attack, in 1795. Restored at the Peace of Amiens, it was again taken in 1806, and henceforth remained a British possession, a money compensation being paid to Holland after the settlement of 1814. The Dutch East India Company, to whom Cape Colony had belonged, had been obliged to acquiesce reluctantly in the expansion of the settlements ; but the outlying farmers had led a very primitive life, coming little in contact with forms of government. The country had

originally been occupied by Bushmen and then by Hottentots, but in the seventeenth century Kaffir tribes from the north invaded the eastern district of Cape Colony. Already before the British conquest there had been two Kaffir wars; and for years relations with the natives were the dominant factor in the history of the country. The Dutch farmers were a grim and dour race, sometimes capable of acts of cruelty; but they seem to have understood the natives better than Englishmen at home, treating them as children, and not on a footing of equality. The English missionaries, on the other hand, who had the support of the powerful philanthropic interest in England, insisted that natives and Europeans were equals, at any rate when Christians; and made continual complaints at home of the doings of the Dutch population. The British governors and officials were generally in sympathy with the Dutch colonists; but their policy was largely dictated from home; and that policy ran counter to Dutch prejudices. It was this divergence, rather than the autocratic character of the government, which created Dutch discontent. The government was indeed an autocracy; but the Dutch did not resent this, so long as it did not interfere with them; and they were very far from desiring representative institutions.

Instability of British policy in South Africa.

The manner of the introduction of slave emancipation, rather than the Act itself, was resented; but the real grievance was the conviction that the authorities would neither protect the people against native aggression, nor allow them to take measures for their own protection. It was this conviction which brought about the exodus of 1836–7 which was big with future consequences to the British Empire. These 'trekkers' emigrated to escape British administration; but the British Government, whilst it refused them protection, maintained that by no act of theirs could they cease to be British subjects. Moreover, Great Britain, as the paramount power in South Africa, could not ignore proceedings which might dangerously react upon her own relations with the native races.

Between the natural desire to restrict their sphere of operations, and the expansion inevitable when responsibility was recognized, British statesmen retired and moved forward in a manner puzzling to the Boers and humiliating to themselves. The neighbourhood of the sea made necessary the annexation of Natal in 1843, and a few years later (1848) an active British governor assumed the sovereignty over the Orange River Free State. After some demur, that sovereignty was acquiesced in, the more intractable of the Boers retiring north to the Transvaal. But British immigration had only just begun to affect the character of the population when again a change was made, and in 1854 the Orange River State again became independent (Great Britain had already in 1852 recognized the complete independence of the Transvaal). The abandonment of the Orange River sovereignty was due to considerations of expense, the astute King of the Basutos knowing how to excite the fears of British and Dutch, without risking his kingdom. The political connexion of the Orange River State with Cape Colony was so obviously expedient that in 1858 its Dutch population would have been willing to enter into a federal system with Cape Colony. At the time the British Government put its veto on any such proposal; and, when it was again brought forward at a later date, racial antagonism and prejudice had stiffened, so that the measure thrust upon South Africa (1877) by Lord Carnarvon was ignored.

Annexation of the Transvaal.

Meanwhile, though the Orange River Free State pursued a peaceful existence, the Transvaal Boers to the north experienced the difficulties which beset those who would combine practical anarchy and a system of government. In 1876 the republic was bankrupt and seemed to have lost its old skill in the control of its native neighbours. A Zulu chief had formed a powerful military organization; and it was thought necessary in the general interests of South Africa that Great Britain should annex the Transvaal. At first the annexation was received with apparent acquiescence, though there was an undercurrent of sullen hostility; but when the Zulu power had been shattered,

and when moreover the promises held out of local self-government were not redeemed, whilst, on the other hand, the payment of taxation was enforced in a manner most repugnant to Boer instincts, discontent gathered strength and meaning. When a change of government in England did not lead to the consequences which were expected from Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian speeches, that discontent embodied itself in action. There were, no doubt, strong reasons against attempting to hold down by force a people determined upon independence, and Dutch opinion throughout South Africa had to be reckoned with. Still, the moment chosen for the recognition of independence, just when British troops had suffered an ignominious defeat, was unfortunate, in that it encouraged a feeling of contempt for England which became manifest in later proceedings.

South African Republic.

A nominal suzerainty was indeed preserved for Great Britain ; but, in the absence of force or moral authority, such a paper bulwark was a mere waste of words. In 1884 the title of South African Republic was restored and its limits extended in the west. Later (1888) new territories were added on the south-east ; and in 1894 Swaziland came under the control of the republic. The discovery of rich goldfields on the Rand (1886) gave it the sinews of war. Immigrants had been at first invited to develop the country ; but, when they came in great numbers, the shrewd and suspicious old President, P. Kruger, determined that they should not share in the government, so as to endanger Dutch supremacy. At the same time the Boers were unable to provide efficient administration ; and the existence of wealth brought with it the attendant evils of jobbery and corruption. The outlanders in Johannesburg, to a great extent British subjects, treated as pariahs in a country which had covenanted equal opportunities to all white people, bitterly resented their treatment. The British Government sought to assist them, but was powerless against the determination of Kruger. Natural sympathy with men of the same race may have had a less simple side in the

desire to wrest from Boer hands the goldfields ; and the abortive Jameson Raid of the winter of 1895–6 may have reflected both aspirations. In any case this ill-contrived proceeding precipitated matters, because it enlisted Dutch sympathy with the Boers throughout South Africa, and thus encouraged Kruger in his obdurate policy, whilst it weakened the hands of the British Government and made interference on their part invidious and difficult.

In 1897 the presence in South Africa of a strong High Commissioner, Sir A. Milner, brought matters to a crisis. Acting on his advice, the Home Government insisted upon the grant of civic rights to the outlanders. Kruger was willing to move some way in this direction ; but only on condition that complete independence was secured from Great Britain.

The war and the union.

The negotiations therefore fell through, and a three years' war (1899–1902) had to decide which Power should be paramount in South Africa. Paradoxical as it may seem, the Boers, after a fiercely contested war, were more friendly disposed to the British than they had been ever in the past ; and the boldness of the Liberal Government, in giving to the new colonies full responsible government, encouraged a frame of mind through which the actual union of South Africa became possible. The eastern district of Cape Colony had become mainly British through the immigration of 1820 and 1821 ; and in all the colonies Dutch and British existed side by side. The divisions were purely artificial, and such patriotism as existed was racial rather than local. In this state of things, when men once realized the necessity of union amongst the white people in the face of a black majority, and the economic risks attending disunion through hostile tariffs and rival railway systems, the political constitution adopted (1909) was a union, not a federation.

Rhodesia.

For the present, however, an important portion of South Africa stands outside this union. Although others may have had a hand in the political negotiations which preserved Mashonaland and Matabeleland for Great Britain, that these countries, under the name of Rhodesia,

have become a thriving and important portion of the Empire is wholly due to the foresight and energy of Cecil Rhodes.

In 1889 the British South Africa Company obtained its charter, and in the following year a body of pioneers founded Salisbury. Progress was for some years delayed by the warlike character of the Matabeles, and, when this difficulty was surmounted, by the South African War. The task of opening out a new country is of necessity slow, and scarcity of labour has added to the difficulty; but Southern Rhodesia, abounding as it does with minerals and possessing a more fertile soil than is found in the other colonies, must in time become the home of a large white population, and will no doubt, when its initial difficulties are surmounted, take its place in the Union of South Africa. It already possesses the advantage of an excellent railway system; and the Cape to Cairo railway now reaches some hundreds of miles beyond the Victoria Falls on the Zambesi. British South Africa Company.

In addition to the portions of South Africa inhabited by Europeans are Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, as yet under the control of the British Crown, and Northern Rhodesia, which is part of the domain of the British South Africa Company.

Bordering north-east Rhodesia lies the Nyasaland Protectorate, founded on the main scene of Livingstone's labours as explorer and missionary. In 1891 a British protectorate was proclaimed over Nyasaland and the Shire district. Slave raiders for years devastated the country; but with their removal its natural fertility should bear good fruit. Nyasaland Protectorate.

The island of Mauritius and its dependencies, Rodriguez and other islands, belong geographically to Africa; though historically and politically they have been attached to Asia. Used as a port of call by the Portuguese and afterwards partly planted by the Dutch, Mauritius first came into prominence when a French possession, during the government (1735–46) of the French admiral, Labordonnais. Through him the Isle of France (as it was Mauritius.

then called) promised to play a great part in securing French ascendency in India; but his quarrels with Dupleix and the fears of the French East India Company prevented the fulfilment of these hopes. Mauritius, however, continued to prosper after the French reverses in India; and the French character of its present population proves how strong was the hold of France upon the island. When Napoleon again revived the idea of a French Oriental empire, it was natural that Mauritius should have been attacked by a British fleet. At the close of 1810 the island became a British possession, along with Bourbon, which, however, was restored to France in 1814 when Mauritius, with its dependencies, was recognized as British.

The emancipation of the slaves in 1835 threatened the island with ruin. Accordingly it was sought to counteract the mischief by introducing coolie immigrants from India. This immigration has been so great that at the present time more than two-thirds of the population are of Indian stock. The main product of the island is sugar; and Mauritius has suffered through the depression which has been experienced by that industry. In addition, misfortunes, such as hurricane and plague, have assailed the island.

The Seychelles.

The Seychelles Archipelago lies due north of Mauritius. The islands, which were first occupied by the French from Mauritius, were taken by the British in the Napoleonic war, but no attempt was made to enforce possession till after the capture of Mauritius in 1810. For years the Seychelles remained a dependency of Mauritius, but in 1893 they were made a separate colony.

Australasia

Early settlement.

The immediate cause of the settlement of Australia was the need for providing a place whither convicts might be sent after the independence of the United States had closed to them the Southern Provinces. Captain Cook had landed in Botany Bay in 1770, and afterwards, on

rounding Cape York, had taken possession of the whole eastern coast for Great Britain. Joseph Banks had accompanied Cook as naturalist, and became the lifelong advocate of Australian settlement. The actual proposal, however, which the Government accepted, came from a Mr. Matra, who had been a midshipman in Cook's expedition. It was decided to establish a convict settlement at Botany Bay; and in 1787 Captain Phillip was appointed the first governor. Phillip proved himself the right man in the right place; and to his unremitting exertions the result was due that some 750 convicts were carried with little loss of life to a new and unknown destination. Botany Bay proved an undesirable site, and Port Jackson, the present site of Sydney, was substituted; where, in the beginning of 1788, New South Wales was formally proclaimed a British colony. A false impression at home with regard to the country, together with misfortunes, caused dangerous delay in the supply of provisions, and the colony was on the point of starvation; but throughout his anxieties Phillip's spirit never wavered, nor his belief in the future of the country. While some of his companions were writing home the most melancholy accounts, he expressed his conviction that the country would prove the most valuable acquisition that Great Britain had ever made; and, while he conscientiously performed the somewhat dreary task allotted him, he aimed at laying the foundations of an empire by better means than convict labour. The Home Government, however, had no aspirations higher than a convict settlement, though the extent of the area of the colony, stretching from the centre of Australia to New Zealand, might suggest otherwise. In fact, the English were afraid of French competition; and the extent of the area claimed is thus accounted for. For many years, however, only a small portion of New South Wales was occupied. Settlements were made at Parramatta and along the Hawkesbury River; and at the beginning of the nineteenth century stations were set up in Van Diemen's Land, which had been proved to be an island by Flinders. The

Introduction of sheep-farming: inland exploration.

introduction of merino sheep in 1803 laid the foundations of what is still the main wealth of the country. By this time free settlers were beginning to arrive; but till the end of Macquarie's government (1810–18) it was still maintained that the country belonged to the convicts, in durance or emancipated, and that the free settler had no ground of complaint, if he chose to enter upon their domain. At the same time exploration was encouraged, and the Blue Mountains at last surmounted, the fertile Bathurst Plains being thus thrown open. By this and other discoveries the area of the colony was greatly increased; while an extensive system of public works was carried through. Complaints from the free settlers led to a Government inquiry, the result of which was somewhat to modify the autocratic system of government. It was beginning to be recognized that New South Wales could not be permanently a mere convict settlement, and that an increase of free settlement must involve a change of system. Meanwhile, the labours of Hume, Stuart, Mitchell, and other explorers made possible the development of new districts. In 1824 Van Diemen's Land had been made a separate colony, and in 1837 recognition was made of the new district, Port Phillip, in the south, which had already been started.

Abolition of convict settlement.

By this time free settlers were being assisted to come to Australia. A new school of colonial reformers had arisen in England who resented the taint which the system of transportation threw on emigration generally. That system economically might well be defended; and, without it, it is very doubtful how far, considering its distance and the difficulties in the way, Australia could have been successfully settled. But, in any case, the system was carried on beyond the time during which it might have been useful; and it required safeguards and precautions, which were wholly neglected. At first the plan, under which convict labour was assigned to the settlers, was welcome to them; but as they grew in numbers, the labour assigned could not meet their requirements; while moral and social objections became greater. The

system involved the maintenance of Van Diemen's Land as a black spot, in which the worst of the convicts were kept pent. It lingered on for some years because Great Britain would not face the expenditure that its abolition would involve ; but after the indictment of Sir W. Molesworth's Parliamentary Report of 1838 it stood condemned. The attempt to reintroduce the system after its abolition in 1840, under another name, into New South Wales, met with failure, and, though that abolition at first increased the pressure in Van Diemen's Land, in 1852 there also the system was abolished.

Theories of land settlement.

The policy of the colonial reformers was to encourage immigration, by applying to it the proceeds of the sale of the public lands. The theory of Gibbon Wakefield, their intellectual leader, was that the reason why new communities made such slow progress was that the cheapness of land prevented that concentration of effort which was necessary for progress. If the land were sold at a sufficient price, a price, that is, sufficient to deter a labourer from becoming an owner before the progress of the settlement justified it, results would be more favourable. Whatever be thought of the theory, there can be no question but that the proceeds of the land sales in the forties of the nineteenth century brought to Australia a much-needed population.

An attempt to establish a colony in Western Australia in 1829 met with little success ; though the Swan River Settlement never came to an end, and, in the course of years, developed into the prosperous colony of Western Australia. In the settlement of South Australia, in 1836, it was sought to avoid the evils of the earlier experiment, and to found a colony upon the principles of Gibbon Wakefield ; but the faulty system of government, under which the powers of administration were so divided between the Governor and Council and a Board of Commissioners in London that they could not be exercised by either, prevented the experiment from having a fair trial. The ambitious attempt to found a colony without any cost to the mother country met with failure ; but,

considering how soon success was achieved, that cost was trifling.

Constitutional reforms.

With the material and economic development of Australia, constitutional reforms became inevitable. In 1842 New South Wales was given a Legislative Council, two-thirds of which consisted of elected members. In 1850 the government of Australia was further dealt with by a measure which, while separating Port Phillip from New South Wales under the name of Victoria, in effect gave the different colonial legislatures the power to amend their constitutions in their own way. The Bill as introduced contained clauses constituting a federal legislature for certain purposes ; but there was not the necessary public opinion behind such a proposal either in England or in Australia, and this portion of the measure had to be jettisoned. The Act, however, was of far-reaching importance, as under it, in 1855–6, the Australian colonies were able to secure the system of responsible government without friction and almost without discussion.

Discovery of gold.

In 1851 the discovery of gold both in New South Wales and in Victoria completely changed the whole situation. In Victoria especially the rush of population to the gold-fields caused a general dislocation of society. In these circumstances immigration went up by leaps and bounds ; and it was at first a difficult matter to keep this new and heady wine within the old bottles of British constitutional precedent. Fortunately the Act of 1850 had in effect left to the people the management of their own affairs ; so that the new element could gain its ends by obtaining for its views a majority in the colonial legislatures. The Home Government recognized that under the changed conditions the Australian colonies must be given the disposal of their own lands. As a consequence, assisted emigration directed from England came to an end ; although for many years the colonial legislatures themselves continued to assist immigration.

Tariff and land questions.

Victoria had gained most by the discovery of gold, and henceforth took an equal place with New South Wales, the jealousy and rivalry of these two being marked by

conflicting tariffs. There was some demand for a form of federal union; but this jealousy and rivalry barred the way; and there was no such predominant need as alone could influence public opinion. By far the most burning question was that of the land. In a new country the land is for the most part mainly owned by a class of small proprietors; but the profits of sheep-farming in Australia had caused huge tracts to be held by wealthy capitalists for the purposes of grazing. These men were termed 'squatters', because they were at first mere tenants by sufferance and were not the freeholders. It proved a hard matter to reconcile the interests of the main industry of the colony with those of the people; and such measures as were taken, being largely evaded, only brought about more bitterness. Consequently the class war between squatter and selector came to colour the whole political life of the community. It is maintained that the vicious system under which in Australia population has become congested in a few great towns, to the neglect of the country districts, has been in some measure due to the difficulty of obtaining land.

State socialism.

In other ways the early years of Australia greatly influenced its subsequent history. Starting with an autocracy, wherein the State was paramount and individual initiative wholly absent, the Australian colonies naturally looked to the State to perform those services which in other countries have been due to individual enterprise. The ideas of State socialism no doubt strongly appealed to a democracy desirous to maintain as far as possible an equality of conditions; still, its first institution largely depended upon past conditions.

In all new countries, so as to avoid direct taxation, the revenue is mainly raised by duties upon imported goods; but in Victoria the tariff was framed with the object of securing protection for native industry. Many of the gold diggers had been mechanics or factory hands, and, when settling at Melbourne, expected to work at their old trades; but, with the high wages prevailing, European competition could only be surmounted by high duties on

imported goods. The upper classes were opposed to this protective policy; and its adoption caused bitter disputes between the Legislative Council, elected on a property franchise, and the more democratic popular Assembly. In this campaign 'tacking', i.e. attaching controversial clauses to a necessary money Bill, was freely resorted to; while payment of members secured the democratic character of the Assembly.

In 1859 the northern portion of New South Wales was made a separate colony under the name of Queensland; and in 1890 Western Australia obtained responsible government and was thus able to stand on a footing of equality with the other colonies.

British and other Powers in the Pacific.

The way was now open for a genuine federation, and events in the eighties had already suggested its expediency. For years it had been tacitly assumed that the islands of the Pacific must be a British domain; but foreign Powers could not be expected to acquiesce in such an opinion. The French annexed the Marquesas Islands and Tahiti; and, at a later date, New Caledonia.

Meanwhile the British Government were at first unwilling to annex even Fiji; though in 1874 they reconciled themselves to that step. They were not prepared, however, in 1878, to annex New Guinea at the instance of the Australian Governments, nor to resent the presence of the United States and of Germany in Samoa. The New Hebrides, however, were prevented from becoming wholly French.

In 1883 the Queensland Government, on the report of an intended German occupation of New Guinea, sought to force the hands of the British Government by annexing the island; but only the southern portion of New Guinea was, in 1884, proclaimed British territory; Germany soon afterwards annexing the northern part.

Australian federation.

The Australasian colonies saw in all this food for thought; and an inter-colonial conference, as early as 1883, recognized the need of some authority which should speak in the name of Australasia as a whole. The Federal Australasian Council Act of 1885 to some extent met the

difficulty ; but the Council, through not being representative, was unable to raise a revenue ; its legislative powers were closely limited, whilst it was without an executive ; and the refusal of New South Wales to have any share in its fortunes deprived it of prestige and authority. In 1889 advantage was taken by Sir H. Parkes of a report on the military state of Australia to raise the question of a real federation. An inter-colonial Conference in 1890, followed by the framing of a Bill constituting the Commonwealth of Australia in the following year, seemed to promise success ; but the defeat of Sir H. Parkes's ministry in New South Wales made that colony apathetic in the movement ; and the other colonies were unwilling to proceed without New South Wales. Public opinion, however, was at last gaining volume ; and when the Australian Natives' Association proposed a scheme for the popular election of a federal convention to frame a federal constitution, which should be submitted to a referendum of the electors, the proposal was adopted by the Australian premiers. A Federal Enabling Bill was passed by five of the Parliaments ; and in 1897–8 the Convention sat which drafted the final measure. But even after the Bill had been settled a further difficulty occurred, because in New South Wales it did not obtain the necessary minimum of votes. Some slight alterations secured the adhesion of New South Wales, and Queensland, which had stood outside the Convention, now fell into line. In 1900 the Commonwealth of Australia Act was passed in the British Parliament ; and a new Power entered upon the world-stage of the Pacific. Already the Commonwealth is responsible for British New Guinea. And it has taken over from South Australia the Northern Territory of that state, which sorely needs a white population, if the ideal of a white Australia is to be permanently secured.

New Zealand.

New Zealand, although it had been declared British by Captain Cook, remained for many years a no man's land, the resort of whale fishermen and traders and criminals escaping justice. So clear was the mischief that a British resident was appointed in 1832 ; but as

he had no means of enforcing his authority, his appointment led to little. The British Government were opposed to the annexation of the islands, though they did not intend that they should fall into the hands of France. The missionaries, who largely guided British policy, feared annexation, believing that the natives could be better dealt with by missionary effort. These Maoris were a romantic and interesting race, greatly superior to the degraded aborigines of Australia. Colonization, however, was once more in the air, and a powerful association was set on foot to promote the settlement of New Zealand. At last, wearied with the delays caused by the Government, the New Zealand Company (into which the association had become merged) took the bit in its teeth, and dispatched a body of settlers to the island, without having obtained the leave of the Colonial Office. No doubt this action forced the hands of the Government, compelling them to establish British authority in New Zealand. At the same time the situation was by no means easy, because the Home Government had always laid stress on the independence of the Maori chiefs. In this state of things the wisest course was, doubtless, the one adopted.

The newly appointed Lieutenant-Governor, by the Treaty of Waitangi, 1840, guaranteed to the Maoris the possession of their lands, in return for the acknowledgement of British sovereignty. So far as land-sharks were concerned, the intervention of the British authority was necessary, to safeguard native rights ; but the question was more difficult when, as in the case of the colonists sent out by the New Zealand Company, a fair price had been paid to the Company, and where the Company itself, though obtaining large tracts of land for a small price, had not been actuated by ignoble motives, and honestly believed that the lands reserved to the natives would in time give a valuable return.

In any case the opposition between the Company, whose head-quarters were at Wellington at the extreme south of the North Island, and the Government, with its

capital at Auckland, made the early years of the colony very difficult. Although the New Zealand Company ended in financial failure, it had no little share in creating the colony. Besides its own settlements at Wellington, Taranaki (New Plymouth), and Nelson, it indirectly set on foot the church settlements of Otago and Canterbury. Gibbon Wakefield drew his inspiration from the early history of New England, and thought that sectarian influences might play a leading part in founding colonies. The manner in which New Zealand was colonized led to the existence of separate provinces, having a strong local life and caring little for the central Government. The discovery of gold, however, in 1861, and the coming into the South Island of immigrants who cared nothing for provincial distinctions, altered the character of the situation, and made the constitution of 1852, which had been of a semi-federal character, no longer expedient, although it was not till 1876 that the provincial system was abolished. For years the main business of the colony was the struggle with the Maoris. The task of reconciling the interests of the natives with colonial expansion was of necessity ticklish and difficult, and required in the Governor a combination of strength and tact not easy to find. For such a work Sir G. Grey proved himself the ideal man. Becoming Governor in 1845, he was able to bring the first Maori war to a successful conclusion, and, for the time, completely to reconcile the Maoris to British rule. But the settlement largely depended upon their faith in the Governor; and, with the disappearance of Grey, trouble again began. In 1861 he was hurried back to New Zealand again to put an end to another war which had broken out. But the situation was now more difficult. Responsible government now prevailed, and, with no separate funds at his disposal, Grey found it impossible to separate the direction of native affairs from the other business of the Government. Moreover, he overrated his powers of influencing a new generation of public men; and, harassed by disputes with his ministry in New Zealand, with the British

Relations with the Maoris.

Colonial Office at home, and with the officer commanding the British troops, his second term of office was much less successful than had been his first. Still, it was his exertions which captured the last powerful Maori stronghold, and when he was recalled in 1868 he left behind him a settlement of the Maori trouble which proved permanent, although it was not till the following year that military operations were brought to a close.

The period of New Zealand history which followed was one of inflation fostered by profuse borrowing. Public works and immigration were pushed on at a rate much faster than the country could at the time assimilate. A nemesis naturally followed in the shape of depression; but the sources of wealth were there, when they could be developed; and after the discovery had been made that, by means of refrigeration, New Zealand mutton could find a profitable market in Europe, the tide of depression was successfully turned.

Peculiar economic conditions in New Zealand and Australia.

Henceforth the main business of New Zealand public men has been, by means of taxation and the compulsory acquisition of estates, to secure that the profits of the land shall not be the monopoly of a few. Even before Australia, New Zealand took the lead in the promotion of what is generally known as State Socialism; the State fulfilling numerous activities which are in other countries left to private enterprise. But each new departure has been made from the point of view of the particular demand and not from any theoretic approval of socialism. The object has been to accelerate progress, where the private capitalist was unable to step in, or to protect either the consumer or the worker from the control of the monopolist. Under the special conditions of New Zealand it has been found possible to set up state competition without ruin to the private manufacturer and trader; but the task is at best a costly one, and stringent provisions in the laws, on behalf of labour, require to be balanced by provisions in the tariff, against foreign competition. It is the peculiar position of New Zealand and Australia in their own markets which makes

the economic experiments of these active communities of less value to countries struggling against each other under the iron law of competition in neutral markets, than they would otherwise be. Still, making due allowances for this, the economic history of Australasia greatly transcends in interest its political history.

Pacific islands.

Norfolk Island, some 1,200 miles to the north-east, belongs still to New South Wales. In the early years of the colony the little island attained notoriety as a convict station.

Mention has already been made of the annexation of Fiji in 1874. That annexation had been often proposed; but always before rejected, Great Britain having no desire to extend its responsibilities. But a combination of causes made the step inevitable. There was the necessity to secure humane treatment for the imported labourers; there was the pressure of Australia and New Zealand, and lastly the growing recognition of possible danger to British interests from European Powers and the United States. A High Commissioner for the Western Pacific was appointed in 1877, who is also Governor of Fiji. New Caledonia was annexed by France and made a penal establishment (1864); and the French further desired to take over the New Hebrides. A compromise was arrived at under which a joint Anglo-French protectorate was set on foot; and English and French residents were appointed in 1902. The New Hebrides Convention of 1906 constituted the present condominium, but the arrangement, as might be expected with divided authority, is difficult to work. At the time of the annexation of north New Guinea Germany also annexed the Bismarck Archipelago. An Anglo-German agreement in 1886 sought to define the respective spheres of influence of the two Powers in the Pacific, and in 1899 Germany transferred to Great Britain her rights in the northern Solomon Islands and gave her a free hand in Tonga and Niué in return for the abandonment of British claims in Samoa.

The Cook Islands were placed under the protection

of New Zealand in 1889, and in 1902 became part of that Dominion. The Solomon Islands became a British protectorate in 1893 and 1900, the Gilbert and Ellice Islands in 1892, and Tonga in 1900. Pitcairn Island is memorable as the place where the mutineers of the *Bounty* found a home (1790). Their descendants were removed to Norfolk Island in 1856, but in 1858 and 1863 some of these people returned to their old home. Fanning Island is the head-quarters of the British cable. The islands of the Pacific are now divided between the different Powers, so that there is less risk of disputes owing to their competition.

Asia

India. Mention has already been made of the foundation of the East India Company. It was intended as a purely trading concern ; and when its Dutch rival, founded in 1602, laid the foundations of an empire, it was generally thought that its policy was mistaken, involving as it did a ruinous outlay. Nor was the English concentration upon India proper less accidental. At first it was sought to compete with the Dutch in the Eastern Archipelago, and it was not till the English found to their cost that the Dutch would brook no rival on ground they had made their own that they confined their efforts to the Indian continent. But, however averse the company might be to the territorial acquisitions, the conditions of the time required that the trade depôt should be protected by something in the nature of a fort, so that such acquisition became inevitable. Surat was the first trade depôt ; but in 1639 Fort St. George was founded at Madras, though at first much to the discontent of the home authorities. When Charles II obtained, as part of his wife's dowry, Bombay, he handed it over to the East India Company. Although a settlement was made in Bengal as early as 1640, it was not till 1698 that Fort William was built on the site of Calcutta. The relations between the servants of the East India Company and the lieutenants of the Great Mogul were throughout

the history unsatisfactory and difficult, and it was not the English who first set the ball rolling which ended in the acquisition of an empire. The downfall of the Mogul power, together with the action of the French, precipitated a crisis. Whilst the English East India Company had been mainly concerned with the struggle for its existence, the French Company entered the lists to secure political predominance. In 1742, on the eve of the outbreak of war between France and Great Britain, Dupleix was made Governor-General of the French establishments. He deliberately embarked upon the policy of securing India for France. His idea was to connect himself with the intrigues of Indian politics in such a way as to secure the benefit to the French. For this purpose the first business was to make Pondicherry the centre of a powerful French principality in south-east India. In 1744 England was at war with France, and in any case the English could not have looked on unconcerned at Dupleix's doings. The first successes were with the French. Madras was taken in 1746 ; but was restored by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748, in return for Louisburg. But temporary successes could not conceal the truth that ultimate victory lay with the Power that should secure predominance at sea. Still, for the time, Dupleix seemed to be successful. By his adroit manœuvring he had gained by 1751 the political control of all southern India, and as Nabob took rank amongst Indian princes. Further grants extended the French possessions to the north and east ; and a French Indian empire seemed already arising. But the directors of the French East India Company at home had little sympathy with Dupleix's aspirations. A formidable opponent to his plans had arisen in Robert Clive, a young Englishman, who with better fortune was to take over his rival's aspirations. Operations in India were costly, and the French Company preferred to come to terms with its British enemy. Dupleix was recalled, and the empire which he had created was restored to the Mogul. The French agreed to withdraw from the Carnatic, and no

more to interfere with the affairs of the native princes. The English, settled on the coast, were still willing to admit the political supremacy of the Mogul empire, and the stockholders in the Company at home were strongly opposed to a policy of imperial expansion. But the policy of peaceful trade development required as a necessary condition that there should be strong native governments, capable of maintaining law and order; whilst with the break-up of the Mogul empire, this condition could not be fulfilled. It was the action of a headstrong boy in Bengal in 1756 which brought about the change of policy. In 1756 Suraj-ud-Daulah became Nabob of Bengal, succeeding his grandfather. That ruler had been strong enough to compel the French at Chandernagore and the English at Calcutta to keep the peace, whilst their fellow-countrymen were fighting in the south; by which means these communities had been able to carry on undisturbed their normal life. The more shocking was the action of his grandson. Calcutta was attacked at a time of apparent peace, and then followed the terrible tragedy of the Black Hole, wherein one hundred and twenty-three persons were literally squeezed to death. The news of these horrors naturally excited the indignation of the English in Madras and Bombay, and Clive was dispatched from Madras with a relieving force. The enemy left Calcutta in a panic and the British flag was again hoisted at the Fort. But Clive, while greatly the superior of Suraj-ud-Daulah in generalship, was also his equal in the more shady devices of diplomacy. He recognized that the moment when France and Great Britain were again at war was not the fit moment to exact a due vengeance, and so a treaty was patched up, by which neither party, probably, intended to abide. Although summoned back to Madras, Clive, distrustful of his colleagues at Calcutta, and conscious that war would shortly be resumed, ignored the summons. He captured the French post at Chandernagore, and, obtaining evidence of Suraj-ud-Daulah's treachery, he aided and abetted a native conspiracy against him. It was unfortu-

nate that his treatment of one of these native conspirators, whom he deluded by means of a forged paper, has left an indelible blot upon Clive's fame.

But Clive in action was more than a match for his enemies ; and the battle of Plassey, won without the aid of the conspirators, in which a force of some 3,500 men were opposed to over 50,000, marks the beginning of the British Empire in India ; though for the time a new Nabob was recognized, who was, however, the mere creature of the English Company.

In the south the decay of the Mogul empire was bringing its inevitable consequences. Most of the provinces which were in nominal allegiance to it were ravaged by civil war. The warlike Mahrattas levied blackmail from the English. Meanwhile the French under Lally, Baron de Tollendal, saw their opportunity. Fort St. David was taken and Madras besieged. But the defence was under the capable leadership of Major Lawrence, and the arrival of an English fleet, with reinforcements, caused the abandonment of the siege. The English were now in the ascendant ; in 1759 the Battle of Wandewash, won by Eyre Coote, followed by the surrender of Pondicherry, in the beginning of 1761, destroyed the French power in the Carnatic. Pondicherry was indeed restored at the peace, but its military importance was never regained. Attention has been called to a letter from Clive to Pitt in 1759 in which he suggested that the British Government should assume the direct sovereignty of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, it being possibly an object too extensive for a mercantile company. It was, however, thought necessary to continue, for the present, here as well as elsewhere, the system of government through native lay figures, leaving with the Company the real power. Unhappily the East India Company's officials were not of the kind that could resist the temptations put within their grasp. They grew rich at the expense of the Indian people, while the Company was sinking under the burdens of the recent war. The Court of Directors, we are told, had long acted as mere spectators of the proceedings of their

servants; and, in this critical position it was thought necessary to send out Clive with full powers as Governor-General of all the Company's settlements. Arriving in India in the spring of 1765, he at once proceeded with the work of reform; the servants of the Company being strictly forbidden to receive gifts. The feeble Nabob, whom the council had set up, was induced to surrender his rights to the Company; so that the Company acquired the collection and administration of the revenue and became the direct vassal of the Mogul; though the figure-head of the Nabob was still retained. Clive was unwilling that the Company should appear openly as the sovereign of Bengal. He preferred to act behind the screen of the native sovereignty. But still the position of the Company caused natural jealousy on the part of the British Government and Parliament; and when, hard pressed for money, it was compelled to petition Parliament for a loan, advantage was taken to exact hard terms. A regulating Act was passed in 1773, under which the East India Company came under the control of the Ministry. Warren Hastings, who had been Governor of Bengal since 1770, was appointed the first Governor-General under the Act. Unfortunately a council was attached to him, one member of which proved his bitterest enemy. As a counterweight, he had in the Chief Justice, now sent out, a devoted adherent; and it was by his help that Hastings was partly able to defeat the opposition to his measures. Although the general verdict of history seems one of acquittal to most of the charges brought against him, Warren Hastings no doubt thought that only on the principles of Machiavelli's prince could Oriental duplicity be circumvented. Still, apart from the field of morals, there can be no question regarding the work of Hastings in consolidating the British rule in India. Not only, at a time when Great Britain was exposed to a hostile coalition and seemed on the brink of ruin, did he maintain the British position; but was able greatly to extend it, so that Benares was annexed to the Company's domains, and the attempts of Hyder Ali to drive the English from the Carnatic defeated;

but also, in matters of internal administration, he 'educed', in Macaulay's words, 'at least a rude and imperfect order'. He transferred the direction of affairs to English hands, and every public office, we are told, which existed when he left Bengal, was his creation.

Whatever be thought of Warren Hastings's doings, it is clear that the new situation brought about in India required some alteration in the relations between the Home Government and the Company. Fox's East India Bill of 1783, which was thrown out by the House of Lords, was open to the objection that it gave to the ministers of the day the patronage of the Company. The measure introduced by Pitt in the following year was more successful. By this a new Board of Control was established, to concern itself with purely political, military, and fiscal superintendence over the Company and its possessions. A secret committee of three directors was instituted, with whom the President of the Board of Control should communicate. As a purely trading concern the Company could act on its pleasure; in other matters it could only act with the approval of the Home Government. The system involved in India the existence of a Governor-General and Council; the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay being subordinated in political matters to the Governor-General in Council. Henceforth the control and direction of Indian affairs was no longer with the Company; the great wheels of the machine being moved by the Government at home. Such a system inevitably produced friction between the Company, the Home Government, and the Governor-General. The latter, if a strong man, virtually appointed by the Crown, chafed under the regulations of a commercial company, while that company found itself often assisting at proceedings which, however advantageous to the interests of the Empire, did not increase their dividends. The great work of Lord Cornwallis, who became Governor-General in 1786, was to effect a permanent settlement of the land question. By recognizing in the zamindars a greater degree of ownership than had really existed he may have done injury to the

rayats, but at least his settlement was a great improvement on the haphazard state of things hitherto prevailing. Cornwallis, though a soldier, was in favour of peaceful development, but the action of Tippoo Sahib, Hyder Ali's son, made war inevitable. Counting on French assistance, he hoped to retrieve the losses of his father. But the French were not able to help him, and when Seringapatam, his capital, was captured, Tippoo was forced to cede half his kingdom. A forward policy was more actively prosecuted by Lord Wellesley, who became Governor-General in 1798. An excuse for such a policy lay in the conduct of France. Napoleon, with better means of realizing them, was reviving the aspirations of Dupleix. Egypt was occupied by the French as a half-way house to India. Mauritius and Bourbon furnished convenient stations for a fleet proceeding to India, and French intrigues and mercenaries were active at the various native courts. In this state of things Wellesley considered that the path of safety lay in a bold offensive policy. The Nizam of Hyderabad was compelled to disband his French mercenaries, and when Tippoo refused to accept a British resident or to banish the French from his dominions, his country was at once invaded. Seringapatam was again taken, Tippoo being killed. Mysore became in effect a British possession wherein the firm hand of Arthur Wellesley restored law and order; although the shadow of native sovereignty was nominally preserved. The greater portion of southern India was now virtually British, the Nizam of Hyderabad having become in 1800 a British vassal. It was the resistance of the Maharajah to this policy of peaceful penetration which led to the war in 1803. A British force under Lake entered Delhi in triumph and rescued the Mogul from his subjection to the Marathas. Arthur Wellesley won the Battle of Assaye (1803), and before the close of the year a treaty was concluded which greatly crippled the power of the Marathas and brought them within the sphere of British influence. Owing to its misgovernment the administration of Oudh had been already (1801) taken

over; and it seemed as though events were moving rapidly in the direction of British expansion. But the power of the Marathas was not yet broken, and in Holkar they found a more competent leader than had yet appeared. The recall of Wellesley (1805) put off for the time decisive operations. The Company was growing weary of the great cost entailed by Wellesley's policy. Great Britain itself was in the worst throes of the Napoleonic war and was willing for the time to abandon a forward policy. Nevertheless Wellesley had 'finally placed the British power in a commanding position'; and, though there might be periods of reaction, it was his policy which for many generations in the main held the field. Even under Lord Minto (1807–13), although it was only in the Eastern Archipelago that the policy of annexation prevailed, the horizon of British interests tended to widen. His successor, Lord Hastings, returned to a forward policy. In the third Maratha war he finally broke their power. The greater portion of their lands was directly annexed; and such shadow of sovereignty as remained to their chief became innocuous. A good system of administration was introduced into the annexed districts and the ten years of Hastings's government did much to consolidate and to strengthen the British rule. In 1823, Lord Amherst became Governor-General, in whose time, as the result of the first Burmese war, Assam and two other provinces were added to British India.

The years 1828 to 1835, during which Lord William Bentinck was Governor-General, formed a period of calm amidst the storm clouds of expansion. Subordinate appointments were now thrown open to natives; education was encouraged on Western lines; whilst it was enacted that no native of India should by reason only of his religion, place of birth, or descent be disabled from holding any office or employment. At the same time an attempt was made to put down the more revolting of the native customs.

But the idyllic picture of an India calmly advancing in the arts of peace was soon shattered. Danger from

Russia had been apprehended since the time of Napoleon ; and in the thirties of the nineteenth century it seemed as though Russia, through Afghanistan, was threatening India. Afghanistan demanded impossible terms for its alliance. Accordingly Lord Auckland, the Governor-General, held it necessary to dethrone the Ameer, and replace him by a more subservient ruler. At first things went well with the British expedition ; but suddenly in 1841 Kabul broke into revolt ; the British agents were killed, and the British army perished amidst the horrors of a winter retreat ; though a successful expedition under General Pollock in the following year vindicated the honour of the British name. In consequence of these troubles Sind was annexed by Lord Ellenborough.

Meanwhile another redoubtable foe was awaiting the British. The Sikhs, a warrior tribe who held the Punjab, after the death of their able chief Ranjit Singh broke bounds and invaded the Company's dominions. The issue of the first Sikh war was that their territory was dismembered, the Punjab being placed under a British protectorate. But the spirit of the Sikhs was not yet broken, and it needed another war before the Punjab could take its place as a British province, and its people reconcile themselves to British rule. The same Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, who annexed the Punjab, in other quarters also extended the British dominion. His policy was not only to take over the country in cases of gross misgovernment by native rulers, but also so to do in the absence of lineal male descendants. By these means the limits of British India were extended ; whilst outrages by the King of Ava caused the annexation of most of the valley of the Irrawaddy.

The Indian Mutiny.

Dalhousie had only left India some two years when the great Indian Mutiny brought home to the public mind how thin was the layer of security on which the British dominion rested. The causes of that Mutiny were no doubt various. The annexation policy of Dalhousie, the startling triumphs of material civilization, and wars and rumours of wars throughout the world, caused a vague

feeling of unrest. The Sepoys no doubt overrated their share in recent victories. There was the fear that the enforcement of the rule to serve overseas might violate their caste. There was the grievance connected with greased cartridges. And over and above these causes there was the fact that what had originally been a mere trading company had been called by the process of events to the responsibilities and duties of empire. It is true that in 1834 the trading character of the Company had been directly abolished ; but it did not therefore follow that its constitution specially fitted it to be the trustee for the Crown. Its weak points may have been concealed by the presence of strong governors-general ; still, they were there. Fortunately for Great Britain the Mutiny remained a mutiny ; and did not develop into a general revolt of the peoples of India ; and, though the British were no doubt at first caught in a trap, the heroism afterwards displayed by individual Englishmen brought about that the story of the great Mutiny in the long run added to rather than diminished British prestige. Its immediate effect was to compel Great Britain to assume the direct control of Indian affairs (1858). A Secretaryship of State for India was instituted, such secretary to be assisted by a council. This council, however, is merely consultative ; the power and the responsibility resting with the Secretary of State.

The magnanimous moderation of Lord Canning, the Governor-General, set itself firmly against anything in the nature of reprisals after the Mutiny. The policy of annexation was abandoned ; and it became the rule, even in the case of the deposition of native rulers through misconduct, to place upon the throne some member of the late ruler's family. But, though the trend of opinion has been against new annexations, general considerations of policy have necessitated, both on its west and on its east, new additions to the Indian Empire. On the west, the old fear of Russia, in connexion with Afghanistan, has dominated the situation. Accordingly Baluchistan is either British territory, or under British protection ; and

Afghanistan.

the western frontier has been pushed forwards to include Quetta and the protection of the Bolan Pass. The frontier has been delimited between India and Afghanistan, and the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907, which declared Afghanistan to be outside the sphere of Russian influence, along with the recognition of British predominance in southern Persia, have given for the time relief from long-standing apprehensions.

Burma: frontier states.

On the eastern frontier the annexation of Upper Burma, the immediate cause of which was the misdoings of King Theebaw, may have been partly due to fears of France. That Power, operating from Tonkin and Cochin China, appeared inclined to be active in Burma as well as Siam. The annexation of Upper Burma prevented trouble in that direction, whilst in 1896 a friendly agreement was at last arrived at between France and Great Britain regarding Siam. On the north Tibet still remains outside the sphere of European penetration; while the friendly states of Nepal and Bhutan stand as warders of the Himalayas.

Ceylon, &c.

To British India are attached certain stations such as Aden, Perim, and Sokotra on the road to India. The island of Ceylon geographically belongs to the peninsula, but its political history has always been separate. The Dutch settlements were taken in 1795–6 and annexed to the Madras Presidency, but in 1801 Ceylon became a Crown colony. It was not restored by the Peace of Amiens, and has remained under the control of the Colonial Office, being governed by a Governor and a Legislative Council, which is now partly elective. During the first years of British rule there were troubles with the people, but these were soon ended; and the main business of Great Britain in Ceylon has been to develop the economic resources of the island by the growth first of coffee and then when that failed, of tea, and more recently of rubber in addition to coco-nuts and other products. The Maldive Archipelago, a cluster of small coral islands in the Indian Ocean, is a dependency of Ceylon, as the Laccadives and Andamans are of India.

The Straits Settlements consist of Singapore, Malacca, the Dindings, Penang, and Province Wellesley, and the Cocos or Keeling Islands have recently been annexed to them as well as Labuan. Of the Straits Settlements Malacca ranks first in seniority though not in importance. A main emporium of trade in the Middle Ages, it fell successively under Portuguese and Dutch rulers till it was conquered by Great Britain in 1795. Restored to the Dutch, after the Great War, it finally became British in 1824, when it was exchanged by the Dutch in return for the English possessions in Sumatra. Meanwhile the British had already established themselves in the Malay Peninsula. In 1786 the grant of the island of Penang was obtained from the Sultan of Kedah ; and fourteen years later the further cession of a strip of territory on the mainland gave its origin to Province Wellesley ; the object of the acquisition being to put down the pirates who infested the coast. In 1819 the island of Singapore was obtained from the Sultan of Johor by Sir Stamford Raffles. His action was protested against by the Dutch and severely criticized by the secret committee of the East India Company, but it was not overruled, and in a very short time the new acquisition amply justified the prescience of its founder. The foundation of Singapore was the turning-point in the long struggle between the Dutch and the English for the predominance in the Eastern trade. The policy of making Singapore a free port, open to ships of every nation free of duty, was richly rewarded. Not less enlightened was Raffles's political policy. He protested against the exclusion of the European merchants from all share in the domestic regulation of the settlement of which they would form the main members ; whilst he recognized that its population would consist in a mixture of strangers from all parts of the world, though chiefly of Malays and Chinese. At first Singapore was attached to the British possessions in Sumatra ; but, before these became Dutch, under the treaty of 1824, it was made a separate residency under the Government of Bengal. In 1826, however, it was united

The Straits Settlements and dependencies.

with Penang and Malacca. In 1867 the Straits Settlements were separated from India and became a Crown colony. The Dindings, consisting of a strip of land on the coast and the island of Pangkor, were taken over from Perak in 1874, mainly with the object of putting down piracy.

The Malay States.

Of special interest has been the influence of the Straits Settlements upon the native states of the Malay Peninsula. The internal troubles of the states which adjoined the Straits Settlements reached a crisis in 1874, and in that year British residents were placed in the states of Perak, Selangor, and Sungei Ujong, one of the nine states forming the Negri Sembilan. At a later date a resident was accredited to Pahang on the eastern side of the peninsula. In 1895 the four states of Perak, Selangor, Negri Sembilan, and Pahang, were formed into a federation under the title of the Federated Malay States. Meanwhile the foreign relations of Johor, at the extreme south of the peninsula, had been in 1885 placed under the control of Great Britain, and in 1910 the Sultan received a British adviser. In 1909, under a treaty with Siam, the states of Kedah, Kelantan, Trengganu, and Perlis, over which Siam had claimed sovereignty, were placed under British protection, and British residents or agents have been placed in these states also, so that the whole of the southern part of the Malay Peninsula is now practically under British control. By conserving old titles and old feudal institutions as far as possible, by dealing gently with local prejudices, and by acting through the medium of the native rulers, the British residents have been able to bring about a material and moral improvement to which it would be difficult to find a parallel elsewhere; while they have been able to avoid that break with the past which so often has had such disastrous results in the progress of material expansion.

At first, indeed, the path of the British residents was by no means easy. They were expected, without interfering unduly with the details of government, to secure the maintenance of peace and law, the initiation of a sound system of taxation with the consequent development of

the resources of the country, so as to ensure the receipt of funds necessary to carry out the engagements of the government and to pay for the cost of the British officers. A British resident at Perak was in 1875 assassinated and a punitive expedition became necessary. In fact the residential system required strengthening before effective results could follow from its institution. The residents were warned in 1878 that they were mere advisers ; and if they departed from that rôle the responsibility would rest with them ; but they felt constrained to accept such responsibility, and the great wealth of the country, which only required peace for its development, soon allowed for the provision of a more elaborate system of government and the work of a fully organized civil service. Few countries can show so great a progress in material advancement as has been made by the Malay States which have been brought under British control. Increased production of tin has greatly raised the revenue. Railways have opened up the country and assisted the export of other products ; whilst the well-being of the people has kept pace with the progress of the country. The position of Malays and of Chinese has alike been bettered. Nowhere more than in the Federated Malay States have Lord Curzon's words been justified that in foreign dependencies the final justification of empire is that it should exist for the benefit of the people of the country.

The Eastern Archipelago.

It has already been stated that the final result of Dutch and English competition in the East was to leave Great Britain predominant on the mainland of India and the United Provinces in the islands. There was indeed a nominal and precarious connexion of Great Britain with these islands ; but it amounted to very little. When the United Provinces threw in their lot with France in the war of the French Revolution, the Dutch colonies became the natural prey of the British Navy ; and in 1811 Java was taken. The British occupation, between 1811 and 1815, is of interest because of the character of the government set up by Sir Stamford Raffles, and the restoration of the island to Holland has been severely criticized. It

must be remembered, however, that the new régime established in Holland was one friendly to Great Britain; and that it would have been a strange way of strengthening it in the affections of the Dutch people to identify it with the loss of the Dutch colonial empire. When Java was restored a British station was maintained in Sumatra at Benkulen; but this also became Dutch in 1824 in return for Malacca.

Sarawak.

Although ineffectual attempts had been frequently made to set up British stations in Borneo, the first serious effort to establish British connexion with that island was carried out by a private Englishman, James Brooke. Brooke received the grant of Sarawak, on the north-west side of the island, in 1842, and succeeded in establishing a practically independent sovereignty. Rajah Brooke showed what individual energy and capacity can do in dealing with Eastern peoples. In 1888 Sarawak as well as Brunei and North Borneo were taken under British protection and their foreign relations placed under imperial control.

Labuan: Brunei.

Labuan, a little island off the coast of Borneo, now annexed to the Straits Settlements, was ceded to Great Britain by the Sultan of Brunei (Bruni) in 1847; and what remains of the old Sultanate of Brunei is now a British protectorate, a British resident being attached to the Sultan.

British North Borneo.

The northern portion of the island belongs to the British North Borneo Company, which in 1881 was the first of the chartered companies which revived the practice of the seventeenth century. The British North Borneo Company, however, is not itself a trading company, the resources of the country being dealt with by subsidiary companies. These resources are being developed, with tobacco as a leading product; and North Borneo has on the east coast at Sandakan a harbour of great importance.

China: Hong Kong.

The East India Company carried on trade with China, though not without danger and difficulty; but it was not till 1842 that there was a British possession in China. With the expiration of the monopoly of the East India Company, in 1834, it was sought to develop the Chinese

trade; but Chinese suspicions and objections to the importation of opium stood in the way, and in 1839 war broke out. As a result of that war Hong Kong was ceded by the Chinese, and was constituted a British colony in 1843. The peninsula of Kowloon, opposite the island of Hong Kong, was added to the colony by the treaty of 1860, which followed the joint French and English expedition against Peking. The area of the British colony was further extended in 1898 under a lease for ninety-nine years. Hong Kong has been described as a station half-military, half-commercial, deriving its importance from the vast trade which passes through its port. At its acquisition it was declared to be utterly worthless; but time has sufficiently disposed of such prophecies.

Wei-hai-wei.

The other British possession in China, Wei-hai-wei, was occupied under an agreement in 1898, as a set-off to grants of lands obtained by the other Powers. Wei-hai-wei has a fine climate and a magnificent harbour, but it has not been thought advisable to establish here a fortified naval base.

CHAPTER V

IMPERIAL DEFENCE

IMPERIAL CONDITIONS AND PROBLEMS

1. Military and Foreign Policy

War and policy.

'War', according to Clausewitz, 'is a continuation of policy by other means—that is, a form of political intercourse in which we fight battles instead of writing notes.' When diplomacy fails to accomplish the fulfilment of the national will force is resorted to, and the method of its employment depends on the nature of the object in view. It follows that the naval and military policy of a nation and its foreign policy are interdependent. Either its force must be adequate to continue its policy, or its policy must give way should it clash with the will of a stronger nation.

The underlying principle of our foreign policy is purely conservative. We do not covet the possessions of others, but wish only to protect our own and to preserve free markets for our trade. In a word our foreign policy is defensive. Consequently the fundamental basis of our military policy is the preservation of the foundation upon which our whole national and imperial life rests—the freedom of the seas.

So far as any guiding principle can be traced in our foreign relations this has always been the essential basis of our policy. Being defensive, its aim, conscious or unconscious, has ever been to preserve the balance of power, or perhaps it would be more correct to say the military equilibrium, in Europe, and a specific reference to this as a reason for the maintenance of a standing army was contained in the preamble to the Mutiny Act from 1727 to 1868.

It is not our purpose here to trace out the practical working of that policy. When the balance is fairly even, the policy is naturally dormant, and has been so often for con-

siderable periods. The latest of such periods was described as one of 'splendid isolation'. But any considerable disturbance of the balance of power necessarily compels us to throw our weight into the scale on the weaker side. Otherwise the weaker nations might be forced to subordinate their will to the stronger and a coalition might be formed against our sea supremacy.

Such a disturbance in the balance of power was brought about by the expansion of the German Navy and the defeat of Russia by Japan, and at once ended the period of isolation and led to the settlement of our principal outstanding differences with France and Russia and a gradually increasing intimacy with these Powers.

The addition of powerful fleets to the vast armies of the Continental Powers has served to emphasize the peril to our naval supremacy should any single Power or group of Powers become the arbiter of Europe, and recognition of this danger has led to a general acceptance by both the great political parties of the policy of closer action with certain friendly Powers inaugurated in 1904.

Before turning from this main feature of our foreign policy it must be recalled that the responsibility for British foreign policy rests solely with the Government of the United Kingdom. At present the Governments of the dominions have no voice in its direction or obligation to support it by force of arms, although, of course, they are exposed in some degree to the consequences of its failure.

Treaty obligations and alliances.

In addition to the friendships based on common needs and interests arising out of our main policy, we have treaty obligations and alliances, which might compel us to employ force in Europe or elsewhere. In conjunction with all the Great Powers, Britain guarantees the neutrality of Switzerland, Belgium, and Luxemburg, and the integrity of Norway. Under ancient treaties, which are still binding, we undertake to afford armed assistance to Portugal. By virtue of the Cyprus Convention of 1878 we undertake to come to the assistance of Turkey if her Asiatic possessions are attacked by Russia. We have entered into engagements with other Powers to preserve intact the

status quo in the Mediterranean, the east Atlantic, and the North Sea. Lastly we have an alliance for a definite object with Japan.

We are bound in honour by these treaties, and, although our agreements in no way impose any particular course of action upon us, the common interests which they represent do create a situation which may entail the use of our naval and military forces under certain conditions.

European balance of power.

As already pointed out our friendships are based on the fundamental principle of our policy. The dominating factor in the formation of our present friendships has been the growth of the German Navy. Whatever the real intention may be that has dictated its great development, we cannot afford to view its further expansion with indifference. For should that policy at any time develop aggressive tendencies against ourselves or against any of those Powers with whom we are friends, we are bound to come to the assistance of the latter or run the risk of a subsequent coalition aimed at our sea supremacy.

It is commonly admitted that sea supremacy is vital to the maintenance of the Empire, the security of our commerce, and the safety of our homes. It is true that Mr. Norman Angell, in *The Great Illusion*, tells us that *Dreadnoughts* do not protect trade and industry. But while it is acknowledged that his case is represented with great ability, it has hitherto failed to carry general conviction. The more generally accepted view still is that the supremacy of British sea-borne trade has been built, and now rests, upon the confidence and security afforded by the supremacy of the British Navy. The great bulk of the commercial and insurance business, which depends upon the stability of British credit, is transacted in this belief, which is held in foreign countries quite as much as in Great Britain.

The conclusion that is forced upon us is that our foreign policy is bound to concern itself with the maintenance of military equilibrium in Europe, and may consequently involve us in a continental war, in the result of which the dominions are greatly interested on account of the

ultimate effect of such a war on their sea-borne trade. This statement must, however, be qualified by saying that the situation that would be dangerous to ourselves cannot arise unless some Power or group of Powers on the Continent aspires to assume a dominating position. This view is, of course, not accepted by those holding certain political views in this country, and has frequently been criticized in the dominions, and the absence of a solid and unanimous opinion in favour of rendering armed assistance to our friends in certain circumstances would inevitably be found embarrassing by the Government of the day in a time of acute crisis.

None of our minor treaty obligations referred to above seems at the present time very likely to involve us in acute differences with other Powers, but it is necessary to consider more fully the effect of our relations with France, Russia, Japan, and America.

Anglo-French Agreement.

The Anglo-French Agreement was entered into in 1904, and thereby all serious causes of friction with France were removed, and the way paved for the good understanding that exists at present. As far as Europe is concerned the result is a well-established *entente*, and although no definite obligation exists, the French probably have good grounds for hoping that common interests would compel us to afford them assistance against aggression. Outside Europe the chief effect of the agreement was to give us a freer hand in Egypt in return for the abandonment of our claims in Morocco. In Egypt our military difficulties are now confined to the possibilities of local disorder and attack by Turkey via the Sinai Peninsula, a contingency probably rendered unlikely for some years to come by recent events in the Balkans.

Anglo-Russian Agreement.

By the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 a main anxiety of our Indian administrators has, for the time being, been allayed. As soon as it appeared that Russia had abandoned her adventurous Asiatic policy as the result of the Japanese war the way was opened for an understanding with this country. If we could be convinced that Russia did not intend to develop further her strategic

railways on the frontier of Afghanistan, and if Russia could be convinced that we did not propose to thwart her legitimate aspirations in northern Persia or to adopt a policy antagonistic to her in Europe, the chief causes of friction between the two countries could be removed. The agreement has already borne fruit. We have been relieved for some years of a great and perpetual anxiety on the north-west frontier of India, and it is not too much to say that but for its existence the chaotic condition into which Persia has fallen would long since have led to the break-up of that ancient kingdom, extreme friction with Russia, and a great extension of our responsibilities.

Anglo-Japanese Alliance.

Our alliance with Japan dates from 1902, and has been twice renewed. If not renewed again it will terminate in 1921. Its original object was to prevent Russian domination of the Far East, and to keep the 'open door' for trade in that part of the world. Since the Russo-Japanese war the original object of the alliance has ceased to exist—Russia and Japan are friends—but it has been renewed because it has been found useful by both parties to the alliance. It has prevented a naval rivalry springing up in the Pacific. We have been able to reduce our Pacific fleet to a mere fraction of its former strength, and the Japanese have been able to economize greatly in their naval expenditure since the war. The abrupt termination of the alliance would produce a serious situation involving our re-establishing a strong fleet in the Pacific, which, in view of the pressure nearer home, is a prospect not to be contemplated lightly.

It must be admitted, however, that the alliance was for many years unpopular in the dominions. Australia and Canada have both had cause for friction with Japan on the question of Japanese emigration, and they have felt that their interests were being to some extent ignored in the game of diplomacy. It is satisfactory to be able to state that the benefits accruing from the alliance to the dominions with territory bordering on the Pacific are now better understood. The fact that Japan is removed from the list of our possible enemies for a definite period

cannot fail to be of great advantage to these dominions, which can hardly wish to hasten a struggle for sea supremacy in the Pacific.

Anglo-American relations.

For many years our relations with the United States of America have been of the most friendly nature, due to American recognition of the fact that we have no territorial ambitions on that continent. We respect the Monroe doctrine, and although opinions may differ as to the extent to which it is politic to place reliance on this doctrine as regards questions of Canadian defence, it cannot fail to have an effect on any outside Power that might conceivably contemplate an attack on Canada. It must be admitted that causes of friction with the United States arise from time to time—the question of the Panama Canal dues furnishes a case in point—but the attitude of our diplomacy is that such causes of dispute are all capable of settlement by arbitration, and as a result the possibility of war with the United States is not a contingency which has much influence on our defensive arrangements.

Britain and the Triple Alliance.

It remains only to make a further short reference to Germany and the other Powers of the Triple Alliance. Our relations with Germany, Austria, and Italy are individually good, and no questions are pending between us that could conceivably justify war. Throughout the crisis of the war in the Balkans the interests of Germany and ourselves were identical, and the diplomacy of both countries worked wholeheartedly in the interests of peace. Danger, if danger exists, arises solely from the possibility of German aspirations developing an aggressive tendency, which might imperil the balance of power in Europe. It is the aim of our diplomacy to improve our relations with Germany, but it has frequently been stated by members of the Government that this cannot be done at the expense of our existing friendships.

Foreign policy does not affect elements of strategic problems.

The above does not purport to be more than a mere outline of the fundamental basis of our relations with foreign Powers, stated in the broadest terms, but it serves to show the directions from which danger may be apprehended, and suffices as a basis for a consideration of our

naval and military policy. It is necessary, however, to point out that these questions of foreign policy do not affect the elements of the purely strategical problems involved in the defence of the Empire. These elements consist primarily of the relative strength of the naval and military forces on either side, the geographical and topographical conditions, the communications by sea and land, and the problems of time and space involved.

These considerations of foreign policy do, however, make war more or less likely, and governments only consider what is reasonably probable. But conditions alter, treaties become obsolete, and friendships change, so in their military policy governments ought not to be guided merely by the circumstances of the moment. The question of time is of the utmost importance. Expenditure, particularly in naval matters, which is premature, is wasteful on account of the rapidity with which material of all sorts becomes out of date, and whereas it takes many years to develop a navy or an army, a treaty can be repudiated by a stroke of the pen.

In what follows the complicated nature of the problems involved in the defence of the Empire will be clearly brought out, and their detailed analysis cannot fail to emphasize strongly the necessity for continuity in our foreign policy and statesmanlike forethought in our military preparations.

2. The Principles on which Imperial Defence is based

The principles on which Imperial Defence is based are few and simple. They are as follows :

1. That sea supremacy is necessary to the maintenance of the Empire.

2. That each self-governing portion of the Empire should, as far as possible, provide for its own territorial security.

3. That the different portions of the Empire should be prepared to give each other mutual assistance.

The means by which effect is given to these principles are :

1. Sea supremacy is maintained by the Royal Navy, assisted by contributions from the dominions and the local navies maintained by the dominions, and supported by a system of defended ports at home and abroad.

2. Local defence is provided for at home by the Regular Army, should it be in the country, the Special Reserve, and the Territorial Force. The dominions maintain local forces for local defence. India is defended by the British garrison and the Indian Army, and the Crown colonies are in most instances defended by British garrisons, assisted in some cases by local forces.

3. Effect is given to the principle of mutual assistance by the co-operation of local navies with the Royal Navy, by the Expeditionary Force maintained at home ready for service abroad, by the assistance on occasion of the Indian Army outside India, and by contingents from the dominions.

In the following sections it is proposed to discuss in detail the application of these principles.

3. Sea Supremacy

The 'command of the sea.'

There are few questions on which misapprehensions are more general than that of sea supremacy, or, as it is more commonly called, the 'command of the sea'. The ordinary conception of the 'man in the street' is that the 'sea is one and brooks but one mistress', and that the command of it rests with one or other belligerent from the fall of the flag, so to speak, either as the result of great naval preponderance or a great naval victory on or shortly after the outbreak of war. There could be no greater delusion. Before considering the question further it is necessary to define what we mean by 'command of the sea'. The generally accepted definition is the power to control maritime communications. The most cursory acquaintance with our naval history shows that at the outbreak of war the command of the sea is usually in dispute, and that it remains in dispute as long as the

enemy's naval power continues to exist as anything more than a negligible quantity, or, to use another catch phrase which is often abused, as long as the enemy possesses 'a fleet in being'. To obtain a grasp of the question it is necessary to recognize two important points. Firstly, command of the sea, meaning as it does the control of maritime communications, is a relative term, and it is perfectly possible, and even usual, for one combatant to exercise command in certain waters, while the other combatant exercises command elsewhere. Also it is necessary to recognize the difference between waging offensive naval warfare and exercising sea command.

Control of maritime communications.

As regards the first point, it is not difficult to conceive circumstances in which our navy might be able to control communications in the Channel and the Atlantic, while those of other Powers controlled the Baltic and the Pacific, and the command of the North Sea and the Mediterranean remained in dispute.

Difference between offensive naval warfare and command of the sea.

As regards the second point, the fact that our navy might be able to maintain a vigorous offensive in the North Sea would not necessarily give us control of the communications in those waters sufficient, say, to guarantee the safety of a military expedition. Command of the sea cannot be said to be established—

(1) Till the enemy's fleets are no longer capable of threatening an attack.

(2) Till our maritime trade can be carried on without danger of serious interruption.

(3) Till the sea communications of oversea expeditions are secure against reasonable risk.

It is necessary to say 'serious interruption' and 'reasonable risk', for as long as the enemy is capable of maintaining maritime war in any form complete security on the sea cannot be ensured. But history shows us that maritime trade can prosper and military expeditions cross the sea without complete command of the sea having been established. It is true that in the Spanish-American war the Americans attached an exaggerated importance to the theory of the 'fleet in being', and delayed unduly

in landing their army in Cuba. In 1895, in the war with China, and in 1904 in the war with Russia, however, the Japanese moved military expeditions by sea before establishing sea command, in the first case using their navy defensively to begin with, to protect their transports directly, and in the second case using it offensively and so protecting their transports indirectly.

But although military expeditions can cross the sea before the command of the sea has been established, and have frequently done so, it is generally recognized that if decisive results are aimed at complete command must be subsequently established.

This theory will be applied later when considering the various problems that arise in connexion with the command of the sea in different parts of the world.

Reference has been made to the difference between waging offensive naval warfare and exercising command of the sea. The difference arises from the power of the weaker combatant to assume the offensive temporarily by means of counter-attack. A belligerent waging defensive naval warfare is by no means without resources. He may attempt to take advantage of the distribution of the hostile fleets at the outbreak of hostilities to gain an initial success. He may endeavour by strategical manœuvres to divide the hostile fleets so as to afford an opportunity for offensive action. He may make great use of secondary means, such as mines, torpedoes, and possibly aircraft, to deliver minor counter-attacks. He can force on the enemy all the arduous duties of blockade, and may endeavour to raid his coast and his commerce or the communications of his military forces in order to exhaust his resources, depreciate his *moral*, and prevent his using his full strength at the decisive point.

Such being the resources of defensive naval warfare, the arduous nature of offensive naval warfare becomes apparent, particularly if the initiative is likely to rest with the opponent. The stronger combatant is popularly supposed to have nothing to do but to seek out the enemy's fleets and destroy them. A continuous and

ubiquitous offensive is certainly essential, but the methods by which it is maintained are full of difficulties and dangers. The essential weakness of our position is that our settled policy is defensive and that it is inconceivable that we should be the aggressors. This fact implies that the initiative would rest with the enemy and entails in our case extreme vigilance in the distribution of our fleets in peace-time, particularly during a period of strained relations, so as to avoid having to meet a surprise attack under unfavourable conditions. We must be prepared at our average moment for the enemy at his selected moment. We must maintain an adequate system of intelligence so that the distribution of possibly hostile fleets is always known both in peace and war. We must observe, follow, attack and defeat all hostile fleets and vessels that put to sea, and must make adequate dispositions for the protection of our commerce.

The geographical situation of the British Isles confers certain advantages from the point of view of waging offensive warfare. It greatly facilitates the protection of our oversea trade against an enemy that is compelled to issue from the North Sea to gain access to the Atlantic, and it enables us to keep the ports on the other side of the Channel under effective observation should necessity to do so arise. But against these advantages must be weighed those conferred on a possible enemy for waging defensive warfare by the double exit from the Baltic via the Kiel Canal and the Skaggerak. This double exit not only increases the difficulties of maintaining effective observation on any hostile fleet that can make use of either passage, but imposes upon us the necessity of keeping our main fleet in a position from which it can ensure bringing the enemy to action before he can break out of the North Sea, and in certain circumstances might prevent any division of the battle-fleet.

Blockade. A word must be said on the subject of blockade under the conditions of the present day. Close blockade, i.e. blockade with the object of preventing the enemy's fleet putting to sea, is commonly regarded as no longer

possible. This may not be a matter of great consequence, as our object would certainly be to induce the enemy to put to sea so as to attack him, except possibly during certain periods when we had military expeditions at sea. Open blockade, i.e. blockade with the object of keeping such close watch on the enemy's fleet in port that if it puts to sea it can be followed and brought to action, is attended by increasing difficulties owing to the long range of destroyers and submarines, which will keep the blockading battle-fleets at a considerable distance from the blockaded ports. The necessity of relieving vessels engaged in the duty of observation and the difficulties of coaling at sea impose on the blockading side, moreover, a very considerable preponderance of force in craft employed for this purpose. The geographical and meteorological conditions of the North Sea are undoubtedly unfavourable to a blockade of German ports.

The preponderance necessary for continuous offensive.

A consideration of these conditions will show not only the extent to which the command of the sea may remain in dispute during the early stages of a maritime war, but the very considerable preponderance of force necessary to maintain a continuous offensive, and the constant risks that must be run by the stronger belligerent.

The preponderance necessary for the maintenance of a continuous offensive ultimately resulting in the establishment of sea command, therefore, is a vital question for us, and has consequently been the subject of considerable discussion. Successive Governments have stated their intention to maintain a 'two-Power standard'. The Unionist press has frequently urged on the Government the adoption of a standard of 'two keels to one' as against our most formidable rival. Such expressions require interpretation. Admiral Mahan[1] quotes from an article in the *National Review* for July 1909, in which the two-Power standard is defined as 'the maintenance of two fleets, the one superior in all arms to the foreign fleet next in order of strength and the other superior in all arms to the foreign fleet next again in order of strength'.

[1] *Naval Strategy*, by Admiral Mahan, 1912.

He expresses his agreement with this definition and amplifies it by saying that, in his opinion, 'taking present conditions in Europe, and present naval programmes, the two-Power standard requires that Great Britain shall have in home waters a fleet distinctly superior to that of Germany, and that she shall be able coincidentally to place in the Mediterranean one equally superior to those of Austria and Italy combined.'

Even this apparently clear statement requires further interpretation. What does Admiral Mahan mean by 'distinctly superior'? If there is any value in the arguments that have been set forth above, 'distinctly superior' should mean sufficiently superior to maintain a continuous offensive, and for this purpose a statement by Mr. Churchill would lead the public to suppose that, in the opinion of the Admiralty, a preponderance in capital ships of 3 to 2 is desirable,[1] combined with a preponderance of cruisers and other craft that it has not been found possible to formulate.

Admiral Mahan's estimate of the requirements of a two-Power standard has not been accepted. In the section of this chapter dealing with military and foreign policy, it has been stated that the Government only considers reasonably probable contingencies, and that the possibility of war with the United States has not much influence on our military preparations. If the German fleet is to be considered as 'the foreign fleet next in order of strength' to the British fleet, in the *National Review* definition, the United States fleet is certainly not considered as 'the foreign fleet next again in order of strength'. That has frequently been admitted. Again, there is no evidence that it is proposed to maintain in the Mediterranean a superior fleet to those of Austria and Italy combined. In fact, there are indications that the combination of the Austrian and Italian fleets against us at a time when we are without the support of France in the Mediterranean is not considered a reasonably probable contingency, and that a superiority to the more formidable of those Powers is considered to suffice.

[1] Mr. Churchill's speech on Naval Estimates, March 31, 1913.

The Dominions and Sea Supremacy

This question of the necessary margin of superiority for the maintenance of our sea supremacy brings us to the consideration of the assistance proffered to the mother country by the dominions. The Admiralty has never wavered in its opinion that if imperial naval defence were considered merely as a problem of naval strategy it would be found that the greatest output of strength for a given expenditure would be obtained by the maintenance of a single navy, with the concomitant unity of training and unity of command. For many years this firmly-held opinion led to a system of monetary contributions from the dominions to the Royal Navy. But political considerations in the dominions prevented the general acceptance and growth of this system. For political reasons it was difficult to obtain the assent of the dominion parliaments to contributions that could be considered adequate to their wealth and population. This, in conjunction with a lack of a popular understanding of the true principles of maritime strategy, led to the growth of a strong body of public opinion in favour of local navies.

Naval control in peace and war.

Some difficult questions at once arose for consideration. As has already been explained, H.M. Government in London is alone responsible for foreign policy. As the movement of ships of war in peace-time is an instrument of diplomacy it appeared to be necessary to make some provision by which the ships of these local navies should, as a rule, remain in their own local waters and should notify the Home Government if they left these waters or entered foreign ports. Outside local waters it appeared desirable that they should come under the command of the naval commander-in-chief of the station.

Representatives of the dominions, moreover, have frequently stated that as they had no voice in foreign policy they could not be expected to take part in a war unless they approved the cause. Even if arrangements were made, therefore, for the dominion navies to come

under imperial control on the outbreak of hostilities this attitude of Ministers of the dominions made it difficult to arrange the distribution of fleets in peace-time. On the outbreak of war the British Navy might suddenly have to undertake duties that it had fully expected would be performed by the local navies.

These questions have been discussed at various conferences on defence questions, and, while opinion in the dominions is evidently very sensitive on the question of the control of their own navies both in peace and war, the importance of unity of command in war is generally recognized. The first and most definite step in this direction was the action of New Zealand in presenting a vessel unconditionally to the Home Government. The next was the offer of the Australian Government to place the ships of the Commonwealth unreservedly at the disposal of the Admiralty on the outbreak of war. But the chief difficulty is that if the dominion navies are controlled by the dominion governments in time of peace, they may be very far from the best strategic positions if suddenly required on the outbreak of war. It is really the peace distribution which is the most difficult point to settle.

Naval policy of the dominions.

Generally speaking, it may be said that Australia has always been in favour of having its own navy.

New Zealand has hitherto favoured the system of contributions, its representative at past conferences, Sir Joseph Ward, having been much impressed with the value of unity of command and control.

Canadian policy has changed. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Government was in favour of developing a Canadian Navy both in the Pacific and the Atlantic, and Mr. Borden, who endeavoured to reverse the policy of his predecessor, met with such strenuous opposition from the Liberals in the Canadian House of Commons and Senate, that he was temporarily compelled to abandon his attempts to pass his Navy Bill. Mr. Borden's policy is to provide a sum of £7,000,000 for three of the largest ships of war, to meet a serious emergency arising out of the rapid growth of the German Navy, but he appears to wish to

keep the door open for a reversion in the future to the policy of a Canadian Navy.

The Union Government of South Africa has hitherto done no more than continue the contributions previously provided by the Governments of Cape Colony and Natal, consideration of the question having been postponed while the Union Government was feeling its feet.

In 1912 the Federated Malay States offered a contribution of a first-class armoured ship, which offer was accepted.

India furnishes a small contribution in money.

Policy of the Home Government.

The attitude of H.M. Government on this question is to recognize freely the different conditions in the different dominions, and to accept gratefully such help as may be offered by each in the form that best accords with its circumstances and sentiment. Whether the dominions contribute or not to naval defence, the Admiralty guarantees naval protection to British interests in all parts of the world, and only counts on the assistance of the dominion navies if and when they are placed under its control by the dominion governments concerned. There is a general feeling that all direct contributions from the dominions shall be considered as affording an additional margin of safety to meet the general naval situation, and not as grants in aid. In fact Mr. Churchill, in introducing the Naval Estimates in March 1913, suggested the formation of these vessels into an 'all world fleet' available for service in any part of the world. It must, however, be borne in mind that contributions of ships impose extra expenditure for personnel and maintenance on the Home Government.

The naval force in the Pacific.

The most important question in connexion with the dominion navies is undoubtedly that involved in the naval force to be maintained in the Pacific. The effect of the Japanese Alliance on this question has already been pointed out, but however favourable the effect of that alliance may be to the interests of the dominions at the present time, it cannot be denied that in certain contingencies the dominions might be more at the mercy of Japan and possibly of other countries than they may

care to contemplate with equanimity. It is in human nature to look first to the security of home interests, so the preoccupation of Australia, New Zealand, and, in a minor degree, Canada, in this question is but natural.

At the Imperial Conference of 1909 an important arrangement was proposed, and accepted provisionally, by which an Imperial Pacific fleet was to be formed, consisting of three fleet units—a British fleet unit on the East Indies station ; another British fleet unit, with the New Zealand contributed battle-cruiser as flagship, on the China station ; and an Australian fleet unit in Australian waters—the whole to form the Imperial Pacific fleet in the event of war. The Canadian Government did not see its way to co-operate in this proposal. The Commonwealth Government has made good progress with its share of the arrangement, but the situation at home hindered the development of the scheme as far as the Admiralty was concerned, and the battle-cruiser *New Zealand* joined the First Squadron on her return from New Zealand in the summer of 1913.

There are indications that the policy of a combined Australian and New Zealand fleet for the Pacific, which has always been popular in Australia, is gaining adherents in New Zealand, and it would not be surprising if these two dominions were eventually to co-operate in the creation of a fleet that would be of sufficient strength to affect materially the balance of naval power in the Pacific.

Protection of Commerce

Supply of food and raw material in war.

The chart facing this page gives an idea of the volume of imperial maritime trade and the routes by which it moves. In 1905 the Royal Commission appointed by the Government to consider the question of food supply in time of war issued their report, from which the following are extracts :

'The difficulty and danger . . . that we have to meet lies in the direction of some diminution in the volume of our food from abroad, and a very serious rise in prices, rather

FIG. 1. Imperial Maritime Trade. (The relative importance of different routes is roughly illustrated by the thickness of the lines.)

than in the prospect of the actual cutting off of our supplies.'

'The same reason will apply, though in less degree, to the supplies of raw material, which we require, and much of which is also imported from abroad, with this distinction: for food people cannot wait; for raw material they can, at all events for a considerable time.'

'When all allowances have been made, it seems tolerably certain that war, especially if prolonged, must involve either considerable loss of employment to the working classes or at least a reduction in their rates of wages.'

'Restriction of the output means factories working less time, with a corresponding reduction in the remuneration of labour, and any such reduction would, of course, be especially serious at a time when prices of food might be expected to be above their normal level.'

The Commission was unable to agree on a remedy for this state of affairs other than the destruction of the enemy's naval power.

Defence of nodes of ocean routes.

The most elementary study of this question is sufficient to emphasize the vital importance of establishing command of the seas at the earliest possible moment, but till the command of the sea is established how is our commerce to be protected? A reference to the routes followed by our trade shows that there are certain vital points that it passes, where it collects, and is therefore most vulnerable to attack. Beginning in the Southern Hemisphere, there is Cape Leeuwin on the south-west coast of Australia and the Cape of Good Hope; then come Colombo, Aden, the Suez Canal, and Gibraltar. Off the coast of Portugal the stream from the Cape joins that from the East and the Mediterranean, and finally that from the American continent joins the others at the entrance to the Channel. The more distant the point the less the volume of trade, and vice versa, but it is important to bear in mind that an Australian ship, say, with an Australian cargo is just as vulnerable at the entrance to the Channel as it is off

Cape Leeuwin. Therefore no system of local defence can protect local interests in oversea trade.

In considering the attack of commerce two points must be emphasized. The coal capacity of modern ships of war limits their sphere of activity and the time that they can remain at sea, and the more crowded waters will naturally form the greatest attraction to the enemy. These considerations facilitate to some extent the task of protection by giving an indication as to the distribution of fleets and vessels employed on protective duties. A matter for consolation, moreover, is that sea communications being common the fleets and vessels employed on protective duties can combine with them the attack of the enemy's commerce.

Mr. Churchill, in introducing the Naval Estimates on March 26, 1913, announced an important new departure in this connexion, namely the intention of the Government to assist the owners of merchantmen to arm their vessels by lending the necessary guns, supplying ammunition, and providing for the training of men of the ship's company to form gun crews. This decision, he stated, has been forced upon us by the action of other countries in arming their merchantmen, which makes similar action necessary on our part for our own defence.

It is not possible to leave this question without emphasizing the importance of the Mediterranean as a trade-route. It is not necessary to labour the point; a glance at the chart suffices to bring it home.

Protection of Sea Communications of Military Expeditions and Reinforcements Moving by Sea

It has already been stated that the control of communications is the test of sea supremacy, and reference has been made to the fact that absolute sea command is not necessary for the movement of military expeditions by sea. The power of this country to render military assistance to any part of the Empire or to its friends on the Continent, and the power of the dominions to co-operate in the defence of the Empire by sending

reinforcements to any threatened point, depend on a just appreciation of the risks that may reasonably be run in moving troops by sea when the command of the sea is still in dispute.

Should it be considered desirable for us to render military assistance to France, say, if she were attacked, time may be of the utmost importance. In the opinion of many military writers of repute on the Continent the first great battle of such a campaign may prove decisive, and assistance, to be of value, must be timely. It is quite conceivable that an important duty of the Navy in such a contingency might be to protect the passage of the Expeditionary Force to France in the same way that the primary use of the Japanese Navy in 1895 was to protect the passage of Japanese troops to Korea.

In the case of reinforcements moving from this country to India, our possible enemies and the distribution of naval forces must decide the route to be taken and the method of protection, and once again this question emphasizes the importance to us of naval power in the Mediterranean.

The geographical position of the dominions and the possible distribution of naval forces in the event of war might make the movement of reinforcements from outlying portions of the Empire to a threatened point a matter of vital importance. For instance, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand might move troops to India at a time when the passage of reinforcements through the Mediterranean would be accompanied by risk. South Africa and India could also, perhaps, help to maintain our hold on Egypt more rapidly than we could from home. It will be remembered that the contingent of British troops from India helped materially to save Natal. For this reason the recognition of the principle of mutual assistance by temporary relief in a sudden emergency is a matter of considerable importance.

As regards the methods by which reinforcements would move in such emergencies, each case must be decided on its merits.

Defended Ports

It has been stated that our sea supremacy is supported by a system of defended ports. The self-governing dominions have in most cases taken over the responsibility for the defended ports in their own territory, Simonstown and Cape Town in the Cape Province remaining the only exceptions. The Home Government is responsible for the garrisons and defences of the defended ports at home and in the Crown colonies, subject in the latter case to certain grants in aid, while India provides its own defences.

The armaments of defended ports are calculated in accordance with the importance of the naval, and in some cases the commercial, interests that they protect, and the strategical and tactical conditions which govern the scale of attack to which they are liable.

4. Local Defence

It has been stated that the responsibility of each self-governing portion of the Empire for its local defence in the first instance is a fundamental principle of imperial defence. This responsibility extends to the time that may be necessary to establish our sea supremacy sufficiently to move reinforcements by sea. Unless, therefore, the blow is swift and sudden, any prospective enemy must expect to have to reckon with reinforcements arriving from all parts of the Empire, and with the risk of his communications by sea shortly being interrupted. As we have already admitted that if decisive results are aimed at complete command of the sea must eventually be established, it will be seen that those portions of the Empire that can only be approached by sea have little to fear beyond raiding attacks unless our sea power suffers a decided check.

Land frontiers of the Empire.

A possible exception to the above is the United Kingdom, in which case it is held by some authorities that a blow at the heart might be fatal, and that such a blow could conceivably be delivered in spite of our sea supremacy.

What justice there is in this contention we will shortly examine, but before doing so it is necessary to mention our land frontiers. The frontiers of India are fortunately not at present conterminous with those of any great military Power, but their defence involves problems of the greatest complexity, which will be dealt with generally in this section. The frontiers of Canada are conterminous with those of the United States alone, and this fact, for reasons already explained, relieves Canada and ourselves from the necessity of incurring serious burdens for their defence. The only land frontier of Egypt that is liable to attack by Turkey is very difficult of access. And finally, though the land frontiers of our South African dominions are conterminous with those of German territory, there is little to be feared at present in this direction, provided our sea supremacy is maintained.

Home defence.

The great importance of the security of the heart of the Empire cannot be denied, but it would be an error to consider home defence as a separate military problem. It is almost inconceivable, under the conditions of the present day, that an attack on this country could be the sole issue of any war in which we could be involved. It is, in fact, certain that the protection of the British Isles will form one, and not necessarily the most important, of many strategical problems that will arise should we become engaged in a serious struggle with a great maritime Power; that is to say, the decisive issue of the war will probably not be fought out in this country.

The nature of the attacks to which this country might be liable can be classified under two heads—'Invasion' and 'Raid', which it will be well to define clearly.

'Invasion' may be defined as an attack the object of which is to bring about the decisive issue in the invaded territory.

A 'Raid' may be defined as a secondary attack, intended to distract attention from, or to weaken our forces at, the decisive point.

Invasion.

In 1905 Mr. Balfour, in his capacity as Prime Minister and Chairman of the Committee of Imperial Defence,

made a statement in the House of Commons on the subject of invasion of a highly reassuring nature, based on an investigation of the subject carried out by the Committee of Imperial Defence. Taking France as the potential invader, on the assumption that the difficulties of the problem as affecting France were less than would be encountered by any other Power, Mr. Balfour stated the general conclusion that serious invasion of these islands was at that time not a possibility that we needed seriously to consider, so long as our naval supremacy was maintained, and so long as the military force in the United Kingdom did not fall below a figure which might induce an enemy to attempt invasion by means of a force of less than 70,000 men.

Owing to representations made by Lord Roberts, in which he differed from the conclusions reached by Mr. Balfour, a further investigation was conducted by a sub-committee of the Committee of Imperial Defence in 1908.

The conclusions arrived at on that occasion may be summarized as follows :

1. That so long as our naval supremacy is assured against any reasonably probable combination of Powers invasion is impracticable.

2. That if we permanently lose command of the sea, whatever may be the strength of our Home Army, the subjection of the country is inevitable.

3. That our army for Home Defence ought to be sufficient in numbers and organization, not only to repel raids, but to compel an enemy who contemplates invasion to come with so substantial a force as will make it impossible for him to evade our fleets.

4. That in order to ensure an ample margin of safety such a force may, for purposes of calculation, be assumed to be 70,000 men.

These conclusions were reached in the autumn of 1908 and were made public [1] in the following year. They have been subjected to much adverse criticism, but Mr. Asquith

[1] Mr. Asquith's statement in the House of Commons, July 29, 1909.

specifically stated that all the naval as well as the military members of the sub-committee were at one in this matter, and in view of the ever-changing conditions a further inquiry was entered upon by the Government at the beginning of 1913.

The elements of the problem of a successful invasion of this country can be stated in a few sentences. The destruction of our naval power and the permanent loss of sea command need not be considered, for in such circumstances invasion would be unnecessary. The case for consideration is that in which the command of the sea is in dispute. An essential preliminary is sufficient control of the route to be followed by the expedition to enable it to have a reasonable prospect of reaching its destination and completing its disembarkation. For this to be possible our navy must be thrown temporarily on the defensive in home waters, and that to a degree which would make it incapable of a successful attack on the transports, which, if history is in any way a reliable guide, means a very considerable reduction of our naval power below that of the enemy. The military force attempting the invasion must be of sufficient strength to overcome the resistance of our land forces rapidly, which implies a vigorous offensive. The proximity of London to the coast and the extent to which the resources of the country are concentrated there make it a vulnerable and perhaps a decisive objective.

These conditions impose on the defending force the necessity for a rapid offensive with a view to preventing the enemy reaching London. The short, sharp, and decisive nature of the campaign is further emphasized by the fact that it is necessary to assume that our sea power is not destroyed, but only thrown temporarily on the defensive. The enemy cannot, therefore, ensure the security of his maritime communications, and stakes his all on a rapid issue to the contest. As regards our land forces, the strategy of such a campaign may be summed up as follows :

Observe the coast.

Resist the enemy's landing and delay his advance.

Concentrate a superior force against him and attack and defeat him as soon as he can be brought to action. This implies a necessity for rapid mobilization and a high standard of efficiency in the defending army, so as to assure the assumption of a rapid offensive with a good prospect of success. There will be no time for the arrival of reinforcements or the perfecting of the organization of partially organized troops.

General considerations of invasion problem.

The question is one of such interest that the author of this chapter is tempted to give his own conclusions on the subject. They are :

1. That on the outbreak of war with a maritime Power or group of Powers the command of the sea will be in dispute and will remain in dispute for a period the extent of which cannot be estimated.

2. That during this period the movement of military expeditions by sea by either belligerent will be accompanied by risk varying according to the degree to which the belligerent concerned can temporarily control communications along the route to be followed by the transports, and the size of the military expedition.

3. That if the military expedition is so small that it has a reasonable prospect of evading the hostile fleets, and its object is of the nature of a raid as previously defined, then the control of communications is unnecessary. Such raids can therefore be carried out in the face of superior naval force, acting offensively. But if decisive operations are aimed at, the expedition will necessarily be of such a size that evasion of superior naval force will be impossible, and control of maritime communications will then be essential for a sufficient period for the expedition to achieve its object.

4. That such control of maritime communications can only be obtained by successful naval action, which will throw the enemy on the defensive at sea, at least temporarily, or by the coalition of superior naval force against us.

5. That the land forces which it is necessary for us to maintain for protection against oversea attack will vary

directly with the relative strength and efficiency of our fleets as compared with those of our possible opponents. If the Navy is kept at a strength which will enable it to maintain a continuous offensive at sea with certainty, provision need only be made for the repelling of such raiding attacks as may evade the fleet, but if the relative strengths of our own and the opposing fleets do not preclude the idea of our being thrown temporarily on the defensive at sea, then land forces must be maintained sufficient as regards numbers, organization, power of rapid mobilization, mobility and training to assume the offensive rapidly against any hostile force that may effect a landing on these shores during a period when we are thrown on the defensive, and to defeat it before it can attain its object.

6. That if we permanently lose command of the sea, whatever may be the strength and organization of our Home Army, the subjection of the country is inevitable.

Naval considerations.

The possibility of a successful invasion of this country hinges, therefore, primarily on the strength at which our naval forces are maintained as compared to those of our possible enemies, and also on a correct estimation of the necessary strength of our military forces as compared with our naval forces. If our naval forces are allowed to decrease in strength as compared with those of foreign Powers our military forces must be increased in proportion, but it is clear that a point is soon reached at which military strength cannot take the place of naval strength, for the whole case turns on the temporary nature of the enemy's control of sea communication, and the possibility of our being able to renew the attack successfully at sea before he has achieved his object on land. If we are beaten at sea beyond the possibility of reasonably rapid recovery, it is acknowledged by all authorities that we cannot continue to fight with any prospect of success.

We have been frequently thrown on the defensive at sea in the past, and if Great Britain has been immune from invasion for many centuries it has been due to the skill of our great admirals in the conduct of naval warfare and

the high standard of fighting efficiency of our fleets rather than to numerical or material superiority. Invasions of this country have invariably been planned whenever our sea power has suffered a reverse, and there is no reason to suppose that they will not be planned again if our land forces are inadequate to meet such attacks.

The arduous nature of offensive naval warfare and the risks that must be encountered in waging it at the present day have already been pointed out, and these considerations emphasize the necessity for adequate naval preponderance over our possible enemies, seeing that it is hardly reasonable to assume superior skill in the conduct of war on the part of our commanders or superior fighting efficiency in our fleets till they have been tried in the ordeal of war.

Military considerations.

It is necessary now to consider the adequacy of our military forces for carrying out their rôle. As has been stated, home defence can scarcely arise as an isolated military problem. In view of our naval preponderance it seems reasonable to assume that in any great emergency the decisive theatre on land will probably not be in this country. Strategy demands concentration at the decisive point, but whether we can reach the decisive point with our military forces must depend in most cases on the development of the naval situation, as also does the number of troops that it will be necessary to keep in this country for its defence. It is hardly too much to say that success may well depend on a just appreciation of this problem.

In estimating the number of troops that can be sent abroad for any given purpose, the necessary provision for home defence must always be fully considered in view of the possibility of intervention by a maritime Power or group of Powers. It must be admitted that circumstances may arise necessitating the dispatch abroad of the bulk of our available regular troops at home. There are risks which we must incur, however great they may be, such as those incurred during the South African war, when the coalition of several of the great Powers against

us was at one time a very possible contingency. But if in such circumstances the Navy proves unequal to its task a situation will occur similar to that which resulted in the loss of the American colonies. The coalition of French, Spanish, and American sea power wrested from us temporarily the command of the sea and led to the surrender of Yorktown.

It is hardly to be wondered at in these circumstances that want of public confidence in the Territorial Force has led to the criticism that any inadequacy of our provision for home defence is bound to react unfavourably on the sphere of action of the Expeditionary Force and to have a cramping effect on our naval strategy. Whether our military arrangements for home defence are adequate or not depends on two factors: (i) the degree of security afforded by the Navy, and (ii) the claims that the responsibilities attaching to the defence of the Empire abroad and our friendships on the Continent may make on our Home Army.

Raids.

Raids may be carried out even while we are waging offensive naval warfare by forces that can evade the fleet. The smaller the force, the easier it will be to evade the fleet, but, on the other hand, the less damage it will be able to do.

Raids may be carried out with any of the following objects:

1. To reduce our naval power by attacking objectives that are of importance to the Navy.

2. To keep the Expeditionary Force, or part of it, at home when a sound strategy demands its presence elsewhere.

3. To depress the *moral* of the nation.

To guard against raids it is necessary to provide garrisons for our defended ports and mobile forces to attack instantly any hostile forces that effect a landing. Vulnerable spots, such as magazines, stores, docks, signal stations, cable landing-places, and our railway and telegraph systems must be guarded against damage by evilly-disposed persons employed by the enemy.

The necessity to guard against aerial attack is an important problem of the future, which is now receiving the most careful consideration.

As many of these duties imply only passive defence, they are essentially suitable for second-line or partially trained troops.

The Defence of India

Uncertain factors.

The problem of the defence of India is among the most complicated and difficult problems that arise in connexion with imperial defence. Not only is it possible that large forces may be required, far beyond those which the British garrison and the Indian Army can provide, but there are many factors to be considered, the relations of which to one another must always be a matter of conjecture. The attitude of Russia, of the Amir of Afghanistan, and of the frontier tribes, cannot be considered apart, yet their relations to one another are capable of many variations.

It has been pointed out that while our friendships with certain Powers make war with these Powers less likely than formerly, the purely strategical elements of the problems of defence have not necessarily been altered thereby. This especially applies to the Russian Agreement and the defence of India. The matters to which we have to look are the Russian forces that can be brought to bear, the Russian railway system, the geographical conditions, and problems of time and space. The only one of these that has been affected by the Anglo-Russian Agreement is the Russian railway system. For some years after the agreement was entered into, little or nothing was done towards the completion of the railway from Samarkand to Termez, but the recent resuscitation of the project is a pretty sure indication that Russia has no intention of allowing her strategic position in Central Asia to suffer a permanent set-back, and it is therefore desirable to consider the defence of India from the point of view of a hostile Russia, on the principle that the greater contains the less.

Obligations to Afghanistan.

Before proceeding further it is necessary to state briefly the nature of our obligations to the Amir of Afghanistan. In July 1880 we entered into an agreement with the Amir, Abdur Rahman, whereby we undertook, if any Power should attempt to interfere in Afghanistan, and if such interference were to take the form of unprovoked aggression, to be prepared to assist the Amir, provided he followed our advice in his external relations. This agreement was confirmed by the Dane Mission in 1905. The only condition is that the Amir should follow our advice in his external relations, a somewhat difficult condition for him to carry out to the letter, considering that his frontiers are conterminous with those of Russia ; in fact, so difficult that the necessity for direct communication between Afghan and Russian officials on purely local matters has been recognized by the British Government.

The frontier tribes.

In the year 1893 the delimitation of the south-eastern frontier of Afghanistan was carried out by the Durand Mission, the Amir undertaking to preserve order amongst the tribes up to what has come to be known as the Durand line. On the other side of the line the British sphere of responsibility begins, but there is still a vast area, inhabited by the most turbulent and fanatical of the frontier tribes, which has not been brought under direct British administration and is only under our political supervision. The greater part of the 200,000 fighting men of the tribes in this region may conceivably take up arms against us at a time when we are expected by the Amir to render him prompt military assistance. The effect of these unruly hordes raiding our communications and looting the villages of the North-west Frontier Province might well be to lock up a considerable proportion of our available field army for the protection of our communications, and could not fail to have effect on our striking power beyond our frontier. A consoling factor is the inability of the tribes to combine owing to want of organization, but as a set-off to this, it must be admitted that the territories of the most warlike and powerful

clans lie alongside the most important roads into Afghanistan.

Internal difficulties in India.

This brief review justifies the statement already made that large forces may be required for the defence of India, far beyond those which the British garrison and the Indian Army can provide.

The North-west routes into India.

Space does not admit of a detailed description of the topographical features of that district commonly known as the North-west Frontier of India and Afghanistan, but in order to appreciate the elements of the strategical situation it is necessary to study a map, for there is no military problem that is so much influenced by what, for want of a better term, we may call strategical geography. Here all that can be attempted is to mention some of the leading features. Beginning, then, on the Indian side of the area, there is the river Indus, rising in the Himalayas and flowing for 300 miles in a north-westerly direction as far as Bunji, where it makes a right-angle turn and flows south-west to the Indian Ocean near Karachi. Starting from the Pamirs, at the north-western end of the Himalayas, the great frontier range of mountains follows the left bank of the Indus, the heights gradually falling as the sea is approached through Baluchistan. This range is pierced by many passes, those north of the Kabul River being of minor importance as they lead only to mountain districts impracticable for military operations on any but a small scale. South of the Kabul River the principal passes are the Khaibar, and the Kurrum, Tochi, Gomal, and Zhob valleys, till we come to Quetta, where the range is pierced by our railway system, with its termini at New Chaman and Nushki. Having practically the same origin at the north-western end of the Himalayas, another and greater range, the Hindu Kush, runs almost due west parallel to the Oxus, the heights again falling gradually through the Koh-i-Baba and the Safed Koh till the plain is reached at Herat. The triangle between these two ranges north of the line Herat-Kandahar is a mountainous district, with Kabul, itself 6,000 feet above the sea, at its apex. Rising in this area the river Helmand

flows south past Girishk, some 60 miles west of Kandahar, till it reaches Landi Wali, where it turns west and eventually empties itself into the marshy district known as Seistan on the Persian border.

A glance at a map suffices to show that while Kabul can only be approached from the north over the formidable passes of the Hindu Kush, Kandahar is approachable via Herat and Girishk by a much more practicable route, over which a railway could follow an army without encountering any very serious obstacles. On the other hand, an advance on India via Kabul and the Khaibar leads first of all to the fertile province of the Punjab and thence to the heart of India, whereas an advance via Kandahar and Quetta leads only to the desert of Rajputana.

Russian strategic railways.

Let us consider for a moment the Russian system of strategic railways. This system consists of two main lines, the Tashkend-Orenburg Railway and the Trans-Caspian Railway, the two being joined together by the line running from Merv, through Bokhara and Samarkand, to Andijan, parallel to the frontier of Afghanistan and at a mean distance of some 200 miles from it. From this line there is an extension from Merv through Pendjdeh to Kushk Post, which is actually on the frontier, but the proposed extension from Samarkand to Termez has, as already stated, never been completed.

Plan of any Russian advance through Afghanistan.

This review of the strategical factors involved in the problem of the defence of India points to certain conclusions. India is not liable to any attack aimed at overthrowing our Indian Empire at a rush. The geographical conditions and the state of the communications would necessitate a step by step advance, with pauses on the part of the enemy for the purpose of consolidating his position. While therefore large numbers might conceivably be required for the defence of India, time, amounting possibly to some years, would be available, in which to develop our military resources and bring them into the field, before any actual invasion of Indian territory could be attempted.

The project of a Trans-Persian Railway was much discussed during the summer of 1912, when it was stated in *The Times* of June 14 that conversations had begun between the British and Russian Ministers and the Persian Foreign Minister with the object of securing for the Société d'Études an option for the survey and construction of the line.

The Persian route into India and proposed railways.

It may be said that two projects have received consideration, the first being a line from Resht, via Teheran, Isfahan, Yezd, Kerman, and Robat, to connect through Baluchistan with our present railway terminus at Nushki, near Quetta. This was a Russian proposal which our Government has apparently refused to consider. The second is a line from Teheran, via Isfahan and Shiraz to Bandar Abbas and thence following the coast route to Karachi. The opinion of the Government on this line has never been clearly stated in public, but the project has received influential support in this country. It has, however, been strenuously opposed by the military correspondent of *The Times* on the grounds that it would impose additional anxieties upon us in connexion with the defence of India by increasing the front on which our already slender military forces might be required to deploy. This authority, moreover, is not impressed with the security that the coast route would afford in view of our position at sea. While much has already been said to show that it may, in certain circumstances, take us some time to establish command of the Pacific and Indian Oceans, still considerable time would be required to develop a serious attack on India by means of such a railway, and it could hardly be persevered with in the face of our established supremacy at sea unless our military power collapsed almost completely. Granting the above, the weight of argument would certainly be against the construction of the line if the strategical aspect of the question were to govern the decision, as has been the case with all projects for a Channel Tunnel. The two cases are not without their points of resemblance.

Effect of India on military system at home.

A word must now be said as to the effect that the obligation of defending India may have on our military system at home. It must be remembered that such a war would be of a peculiar nature, quite different from the national wars that are waged on the Continent of Europe. Like the Manchurian war, it would be fought by both belligerents in the territory of a third party. On the part of our enemy it would be a war of military adventure. For ourselves, we should be fighting for the maintenance of our Indian Empire, an issue of which it would be difficult to overestimate the importance, but at the same time one that would not affect the springs of our national life in the same way as an invasion of this country or a maritime war aimed at the destruction of our oversea trade and at depriving us during its course of the food supply and raw material that are necessary for our national existence. It would be a war, therefore, in which it would be difficult to employ a national army did we possess one. It is true that Russia and Japan both employed national armies in somewhat similar conditions in Manchuria, but the Japanese people realized that national interests of vital importance to them were at stake. Such was not the case with Russia, and the difficulties that the war consequently brought upon her at home are a matter of history.

The Defence of Egypt and the Suez Canal

The importance of the Suez Canal to the Empire in time of war, as the link between East and West, hardly needs to be demonstrated, and the vital necessity of maintaining our military position in Egypt follows therefrom.

In times of peace we maintain in Egypt an army of occupation consisting of about 6,000 men of all arms. The Government of the Khedive maintains the Egyptian Army.

From the size of our force in Egypt it is evident that it is not in a position to resist either form of organized attack to which that country might be liable, namely,

attack by a European Power coming from oversea, and attack by Turkey by way of the Sinai Peninsula, which has necessarily been taken into consideration since the Akaba incident of 1908. To prevent an oversea attack, command of the Mediterranean is essential. It is, of course, possible that reinforcements might reach Egypt from South Africa, Australia, or India at a time when the command of the Mediterranean was in dispute, but generally speaking it may be said that the defence of Egypt rests primarily on our ultimate sea supremacy in the Mediterranean, and that the first duty of the army of occupation is the maintenance of internal order. Should we be involved in a war of the first magnitude, it is probable that the ultimate fate of Egypt would depend on the general result of the war, and that any large increase of the present garrison would involve the risk of locking up troops that might be urgently wanted elsewhere, and add to the scale of the disaster should we suffer a reverse. At the same time, the maxim *beati possidentes* is not without its value during peace negotiations, though it has led to much misdirection of British naval and military resources in the past.

Local Defence of the Dominions

The governments of the dominions have for some years recognized their responsibility for local defence, but the question is complicated somewhat by that of local navies. In dealing with the principles involved in the maintenance of our sea supremacy it has been pointed out that naval defence can seldom be local, and that if the maximum advantage is to be gained from local navies unity of command and freedom of action are essential. The Admiralty never ceases to urge this doctrine, but it is easy to realize that in time of war its application may be difficult, and that strong pressure may be applied for the retention of local navies in local waters, particularly if any immediate danger is to be feared locally. The education of the public in the dominions to a proper

understanding of the problems of defence can alone obviate this difficulty.

In any case local navies must necessarily mean local defended ports and garrisons, which will be maintained by the dominions themselves, except in such cases as Simon's Bay and Table Bay, which serve important imperial as well as local interests.

The dominions all maintain local field forces, and are organizing and training these with a view to considerable expansion in war. The principles on which these local forces are organized and maintained in the dominions and the problems of defence in each case are discussed in the chapters dealing in detail with the different portions of the Empire.

5. Mutual Assistance

Naval.

The question of mutual assistance at sea has been fully discussed under the head of sea supremacy, and it is not necessary to reiterate the principles on which it is based.

Military: the Expeditionary Force and its tasks.

As in the case of the Navy, the United Kingdom assumes full responsibility for the military defence of the Empire, but she invites assistance. The instrument that she herself maintains for the purpose is the Expeditionary Force, and many and varied are the tasks that may fall to its lot, as a study of our past campaigns will show. The frontiers of the Empire and the problems involved in their defence may bring us into contact with civilized, semi-civilized, and barbarous races. No foe, no climate, and no hardships must come amiss to the British regular army, and no conditions of warfare must be unfamiliar to its commanders. Leaving aside the American continent and the West Indies, it is sufficient to mention India, Persia, China, Abyssinia, North, East, West, and South Africa, to bring to mind the variety of the conditions under which the Expeditionary Force may be called upon to fight. But in spite of this there has been a marked tendency in all recent changes and reforms to assimilate the organization

and training of the Regular Army to that of European troops of the best type. This has obviously been caused by a change in the strategical centre of gravity of the Empire, if such a phrase is permissible. Pressure near the heart has for some time been a constant source of uneasiness and apprehension. That this has caused some hostile criticism of our military policy must be admitted, but it is justified by the consideration that it is wise to prepare for the contingency that will require the most rapid and energetic action. Other contingencies will afford us time to effect the necessary modifications in our organization, but we must beware of over-elaboration in our methods for fear we may lose the power to extemporize in an emergency, a very necessary quality for the British military administrator and commanders in the field.

Co-operation of the dominions and organization of their forces.

The movement towards the military co-operation of the dominions had its genesis in the South African war. On that occasion a quite unforeseen enthusiasm was found to exist in the dominions for rendering military assistance to the mother country. Unfortunately there was no organization in existence for the purpose. Contingents were raised haphazard, and naturally there was an entire lack of uniformity in their organization. Moreover, although the question of the command of the sea did not arise, it took some time before they could be dispatched to the seat of war. The excellent quality of the troops and their admirable services to the Empire are now a matter of history, but it was felt that more might have been done if there had been more forethought and previous organization.

The question of mutual assistance has been discussed at conferences that have been held with representatives of the dominions since the South African war, and a general agreement in favour of co-operation has been found to exist. No guarantee has been asked for by the mother country, and it has been left to the dominions to do what they feel that they can in the matter, but there has been a general agreement to organize local

forces with a view to a possible co-operation for a common end. Efforts are being made to assimilate war establishments of units and formations to those of the Expeditionary Force. The dominions have agreed to adopt the Training Manuals in use by the British Army, and this is taken into consideration in drafting these works. Efforts are being made to assimilate armament, stores, and equipment, and it has been decided to develop an Imperial General Staff with the object of assimilating military education and imbuing all the military forces of the Empire with a common doctrine.

While considerable progress has been made on the above lines it must be admitted that none of the dominions has yet seen its way to organizing any permanent military forces of the type of the Expeditionary Force, available at short notice to take part in the defence of the Empire oversea. Time, therefore, will still be necessary in which to organize contingents for military service outside the territories of the dominions themselves.

6. The Maintenance of the Military Equilibrium in Europe

It has already been pointed out in the section of this chapter dealing with foreign policy that the traditional policy of this country, though perhaps not always openly avowed of recent years, has been the maintenance of the balance of power in Europe, and the tendency of events has been to emphasize the importance of this question from a military point of view. It is true that Mr. Asquith stated explicitly in the House of Commons in March 1913, that the nature of our understanding with France does not compel us to render military assistance to that country in any circumstances whatever. Naturally the employment of our military and naval forces in any crisis that may arise must be decided in accordance with the circumstances of each particular case by the Government of the day. It is, however, a matter of common knowledge that the events of the autumn of

1911 and the winter of 1912–13 necessitated the earnest consideration of the contingency of war between the Powers of the Triple Alliance and those of the Triple Entente, and the condition of affairs on the Continent is such that the strategical problems involved in such a war cannot fail to be a matter of preoccupation for some time to come.

The nature of such a war and the action of the combatants would of course be governed by circumstances which cannot be foreseen. The objects that each of the combatants might have in view in taking part would affect their conduct of the war, and the action of several of the minor Powers might have a modifying influence on that of the Great Powers concerned.

Conditions of continental warfare.

It is, therefore, not possible to forecast in any way the course that the military operations would take, but as regards their general character we must remember that war between the great continental nations takes the form that Clausewitz called absolute war. It is waged by national armies that are capable of rapid mobilization, and can be transported to and concentrated at the seat of war in a few weeks. The manhood of the nations is absorbed in the national armies, with the result that business comes to a standstill to a very great extent. To be successful the campaign must be short, sharp, and decisive, and the blow is therefore delivered with the maximum force available at the outset, the side which suffers a reverse in the early stages being kept on the run and being given no opportunity to recover from the shock.

Time, numbers, efficient organization, training, and leadership are the factors that make for success. One other factor is of even greater importance, and that is the determination of the Government of the country, supported by the people, to make full use of the national resources to win.

The nature of the military assistance that we can give to our friends on the Continent is limited by certain factors. Our army must cross the sea to arrive at the seat of war. Therefore to the ordinary operations of mobilization must

be added the collection and fitting up of transports, the embarkation of the troops, and the passage of the narrow seas and the disembarkation at a friendly port or ports. Although the numbers to be dealt with are small, compared to those which the principal combatants would be concentrating by rail, it is perhaps not unreasonable to anticipate that even under the most favourable circumstances these conditions would impose a certain amount of delay in reaching the area chosen for the strategic deployment of the army, and render its arrival in time to participate in the first great battles of the war somewhat problematical.

The number of troops available for such a campaign would be limited at the outset to the 6 Divisions of the Expeditionary Force, or approximately 160,000, and it is conceivable that the requirements of home defence might necessitate some deductions being made from these numbers. If the main forces of the principal combatants were evenly matched, a British contingent might be sufficiently formidable to exercise a considerable, if not a decisive, influence on the course of the operations were it to arrive in time. But the real difficulty of the problem is to get the force to the right place at the right time, and considering the continuous increase in the naval power of our possible adversaries, it would be unreasonable to expect the Government of this country to give any definite undertaking to provide a military contingent of a fixed strength by a fixed date for military operations on the Continent. It might find itself involved in a situation in which it could not carry out such an obligation.

But although our power to render military assistance to our friends on the Continent must, in the circumstances of the present day, be to some extent problematical, it does not follow that our friendship is for that reason of little or no value. Our naval power, when acting in combination with that of friendly Powers, would assure the safety of the oversea trade and the maritime communications of our friends, while the oversea trade of our

enemies would necessarily cease, a consideration of great, if not vital, importance.

Political opposition to 'European entanglements',

It must, moreover, always be borne in mind that the action of the Government in the conduct of war, to be successful, must be based upon the whole-hearted support of the nation, and, if the co-operation of the dominions is hoped for, of the Empire. At present it must be admitted that, in spite of military opinion, there is a very strong current of public opinion both at home and in the dominions strongly opposed to what it calls European entanglements. The probable effect of this opinion in any given circumstances, and whether it will increase or decrease in strength in the future, are problems for the statesman rather than the writer on purely military affairs.

7. The Committee of Imperial Defence

The genesis of the Committee of Imperial Defence was the Defence Committee of the Cabinet, which was set up under the chairmanship of the late Duke of Devonshire on the formation of Lord Salisbury's third administration. In 1902, as the result of the South African war, this Committee, which cannot be said ever to have shown any great activity, was remodelled to include the political and professional heads of the Army and Navy, and arrangements were made to keep a record of its proceedings. It was not, however, till two years later that, largely in consequence of a recommendation of Lord Esher's Committee on the reconstitution of the War Office, Mr. Balfour formally created the Committee of Imperial Defence in its present form, with the Prime Minister as its invariable Chairman.

An advisory committee,

The Committee is an advisory committee summoned by the Prime Minister, and not a permanent body. In practice, the Ministers responsible for the Treasury, Foreign, Colonial, India, Admiralty, and War Offices are always summoned, together with certain of their professional advisers in the case of the Admiralty and the War Office. Other Ministers are summoned when any

subject concerning their departments is under discussion. In addition, the Prime Minister directs from time to time that certain distinguished naval and military officers and other individuals with special knowledge of questions of defence shall be regularly summoned. Summonses have also been issued as opportunity offered for the attendance of representatives of the dominions, the Viceroy of India, the British Agent in Egypt, and others.

with a permanent secretariat.

Apart from the appointment of the Prime Minister as Chairman, the principal change made in 1904 by Mr. Balfour was the appointment of a permanent Secretariat, the functions of which are to preserve records of the deliberations and decisions of the Committee, to collect information and prepare memoranda for the Committee, and thus to make possible a continuity of method in the treatment of questions of defence.

As the Committee is only an advisory body, its decisions which require executive actions are carried out under the directions of the Minister in charge of the department concerned.

Its sub-committees.

The chief development of the work of the Committee since 1904 has been in the appointment of sub-committees to consider and report upon specific questions connected with Imperial Defence. The principal of these sub-committees are: The Oversea Defence Committee, the Home Ports Defence Committee, the Sub-Committee on Aerial Navigation, and the Sub-Committee for co-ordinating the action of the different departments on the outbreak of war. Many and varied are the subjects that have been dealt with by these and other sub-committees of recent years, and their deliberations and reports cannot fail to have been of the greatest value to the departments primarily concerned with questions of defence, and to have increased materially the efficiency of our preparations for war.

Suggestions for an Imperial Council.

A reference has been made above to the summoning of representatives of the dominions to attend the meetings of the Committee when opportunity offered. Efforts have been made from time to time to associate the

dominions in a more permanent manner with the conduct of imperial affairs, and proposals have been put forward for the creation of an Imperial Council. While the time may not have arrived for giving practical effect to such a far-reaching proposal, it has been felt that the framework of an Imperial Council for the discussion of defence questions exists in the Committee of Imperial Defence, and various proposals have been considered for securing a more permanent representation of the dominions on the Committee.

It has been proposed that the high commissioners of the dominions should attend the meetings when questions affecting their dominions are under consideration. An alternative proposal has been that the Defence Ministers of the dominions should come to London periodically to attend meetings of the Committee. Both of these proposals have unfortunately been found to have drawbacks. The permanent residence of the high commissioners in the United Kingdom involves prolonged absence from their respective dominions, and precludes them from being in immediate and personal touch with their respective governments. On the other hand, the defence ministers are prevented by their parliamentary duties, and in many cases by distance, from making frequent visits to this country. It is understood that no decision has yet been reached on the subject by any of the dominions.

A proposal for the dominions to form local defence committees was put forward in 1911, and met with approval from the representatives of the dominions present at the Conference held in that year. Such committees, which already exist in certain cases, will, when generally established, be of material assistance in co-ordinating the work of imperial defence.

8. The Imperial General Staff

The experience of the South African war led to a strong demand on the part of the press and public for a General Staff for the Army, a thinking department that would occupy itself primarily with the training of the troops and

preparations for war. In 1903, Mr. Arnold-Forster, then Secretary of State for War, appointed a Committee under the Presidency of Lord Esher to consider the reconstitution of the War Office. This famous Committee, after six weeks' deliberation, recommended drastic changes, including the abolition of the office of Commander-in-Chief and the formation of an Army Council. The First Military Member of the Army Council thus brought into being was the Chief of the General Staff, his department consisting of three Directorates, dealing respectively with Operations, Staff Duties, and Training. The remaining members were the Adjutant-General, the Quarter-Master-General, and the Master-General of the Ordnance. These reforms necessitated a redistribution of Staff Duties in the Commands and in the field, and every endeavour was made to fit the latter to the new system introduced at the War Office. The staff of an army in the field now consists of three branches, the General Staff branch, the Adjutant-General's branch, and the Quarter-Master-General's branch, and the duties of each are laid down in *Field Service Regulations*, Part II. It would be idle to contend that these reforms have been carried out without friction, or that the principles involved have escaped hostile criticism. Time has, however, to a large extent overcome the difficulties inherent in the introduction of such a far-reaching reform, and although our present staff system may not be ideal, and although it still finds opponents, it may be said without fear of contradiction that it is a workable system that should give far better results in war than the system which it displaced.

The need for a General Staff selected from the forces of the Empire as a whole was affirmed by the Imperial Conference which met in London in 1907, and it was then decided that the Chief of the General Staff should put forward definite proposals to give effect to the resolutions of the Conference on this subject. Accordingly proposals were put forward to the governments of the dominions in December 1908. These proposals were generally

accepted by the governments concerned, and the actual formation of an Imperial General Staff was then taken in hand. The general aim of the Imperial General Staff is to ensure similarity of thought and organization in military affairs throughout the Empire with a view to co-operation. This could hardly be hoped for without the existence of a supreme head. The Chief of the General Staff, therefore, became the Chief of the Imperial General Staff in November 1909, and now exercises his influence over the whole body, so far as is compatible with complete local control of purely local affairs. A Dominion section of the Imperial General Staff has been formed at the War Office, attached to the Staff Duties Directorate of the General Staff, and local sections have been formed in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. These sections keep in close touch with one another by means of a direct system of semi-official correspondence on subjects approved by the governments concerned.

One of the most important functions of the Imperial General Staff is educational, and several officers of the dominion forces have already graduated at the Staff Colleges at Camberley and Quetta. In order that the officers of the Imperial General Staff may be freely interchangeable, a uniform qualification is now insisted upon, and officers of the dominion forces are not admitted to the Staff Colleges unless they qualify at the entrance examination, nor are they qualified for employment on the Imperial General Staff unless they obtain a satisfactory certificate on leaving.

A system of interchange of officers has been introduced which assists military education and fosters similarity of thought and training.

9. The Naval War Staff

For many years the Admiralty was urged, both in and out of Parliament, to establish a War Staff for the Navy. The idea was not at first popular with our Naval administrators, who felt that they were being pressed to

adopt a military institution which was not suited to the needs of the naval service.

The foundation of a War Staff was first laid when the Foreign Intelligence branch was organized at the Admiralty, in 1883. Subsequently many of the elements of a War Staff at the Admiralty were successively evolved in the practical working of everyday affairs. A step forward was taken when the War College was instituted in 1902, and a further step followed when a War Council was formed at the Admiralty in 1906 for the consideration of war plans. But it remained for Mr. Churchill, when he became First Lord in 1911, to bring the War Staff as it at present exists into being. In a statement attached to the Naval Estimates of 1912–13 he explained the functions and organization of the new Naval War Staff. This statement began by pointing out the different nature of the staff problems of an Army and a Navy, and showed that while in the case of the Navy many of the complicated and intricate arrangements that are involved in the movement of large masses of troops on land are absent, still there are important staff duties to be performed in connexion with a fleet both in peace and war.

As in the case of the Army, one of the most important duties of the War Staff is educational. It is a means of preparing those officers who are likely to arrive at stations of high responsibility for the extended problems that await them there. It is also a means of sifting and applying the results of history and experience, and of preserving them as a stock of reasoned opinion available as a guide to those who are called upon to determine the naval policy of the country.

A Chief of the Staff has been appointed at the Admiralty whose duties are advisory, responsibility for decisions and executive action resting as heretofore with the First Sea Lord. The department of the Chief of the Staff is organized in three divisions, dealing respectively with Intelligence, Operations, and Mobilization. An important feature of the new arrangement is a close co-operation between the War Staff at the Admiralty and the General

Staff at the War Office, and a proper connexion between the War Staff and the departments of State that are involved in the different aspects of its work.

The officers of the War Staff receive a special education at the War College at Portsmouth, and those who pass the necessary examinations at the end of the course are eligible to receive appointments either at the Admiralty or on the staff of Flag Officers afloat. In all cases, however, regular periods of sea-going executive duty will alternate with the other duties of Staff Officers, in order that they may be kept up to the necessary standard as practical sea officers.

In the words of Mr. Churchill's statement, 'it is hoped that the result of these arrangements will be to secure for the Navy a body of officers afloat and ashore whose aptitudes for staff duties have been systematically trained and developed.'

10. Aerial Navigation

Great Britain cannot claim to have been in the van in the development of aerial navigation for military purposes. France took the lead in aeroplanes, Germany in dirigible airships, while the policy of our Government up to the year 1912 was to keep in touch with the movement rather than to hasten its development, it being felt that we stood to gain nothing by forcing a means of warfare which tended to reduce the value of our insular position and the protection afforded by our sea power. This attitude was the same as that adopted by the Government towards submarine navigation, in respect of which a progressive policy was adopted as soon as it was known that submarines were passing out of the experimental stage.

The Balloon School and Factory, and subsequently the Air Battalion, assisted by the Advisory Committee for Aeronautics appointed to investigate scientifically the problems of aerial navigation, sufficed to keep us in touch with the movement, and it was not until reports were received of the admirable reconnaissance work carried

out by the French military aeroplanes at the manœuvres of 1910 that it was decided to adopt a progressive policy as regards aeroplanes for the Army. In 1912 it was fully recognized that aeroplanes would prove to be important auxiliaries to reconnaissance for both the Navy and the Army, and it was decided to provide sufficient aeroplanes for the Expeditionary Force, and to experiment with aeroplanes and hydroplanes for the Navy.

To this end the Royal Flying Corps was formed, consisting of a Naval Wing, a Military Wing, the Central Flying School, and the Aircraft Factory. The head-quarters of the Naval Wing are now established at Eastchurch, the head-quarters of the Military Wing and the Aircraft Factory are at Farnborough, and the Central Flying School is at Upavon on Salisbury Plain. It is the intention that the Naval and Military Wings of the Royal Flying Corps should be capable of reinforcing one another in an emergency, and, moreover, it has been arranged to utilize by absorption into the Corps the full resources of the country in flying men and aeroplanes in the event of war.

Since the policy was decided upon progress has been steady and continuous. By the end of 1913 it was anticipated that five aeroplane squadrons would be formed and equipped, and that we should possess about 185 trained officer pilots. The needs of the Expeditionary Force would then be in a fair way to be provided for. The work of the Military Wing of the Flying Corps at the Army Manœuvres of 1912 was in every way satisfactory, though it was unfortunately marred by the loss of four valuable lives.

The policy of the Government as regards dirigible airships has not been so consistent. In 1909 the view prevailed that the potentialities of airships could only be definitely ascertained by building them. In consequence it was decided to experiment with small dirigibles of the non-rigid type for the Army and with large dirigibles of the rigid type for the Navy. The small Army dirigibles have proved satisfactory for the work of the Expeditionary

Force, and acquitted themselves well at the manœuvres of 1910 and 1912. But the Naval Airship No. 1, built for the Navy at Barrow in 1910, was a failure, and was wrecked before she had succeeded in making a journey in the air. As a result it was considered till early in 1912 that the results to be obtained from the large type of rigid dirigible were not likely to be worth the expenditure involved. During the early part of 1912 it became known that the performances of the German Zeppelins were such that the potentialities of this type of dirigible for naval reconnaissance, and even for actual offensive purposes, could no longer be ignored. The policy was at once reversed, and it is now intended to provide dirigibles of the largest size for the Navy.

Progress, while energetic, must be gradual. The personnel must be trained with existing appliances, types of large dirigibles must be obtained for further experiments, and the manufacturing industry, both private and at the Aircraft Factory, must be developed. Sheds must also be provided for housing the dirigibles at suitable places.

There is considerable leeway to be made up, and time, energy, and money will be required before the British air service can be fully developed to meet the requirements of the Army and the Navy.

CHAPTER VI

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS OF THE EMPIRE

By E. B. Sargant

Introduction

Common problems.

What are the educational problems of the British dominions as a whole, when distinguished on the one hand from those which appear to be world-wide, and on the other from those problems which have special relation to one or other part of our Empire? No complete separation is of course possible. And yet a preliminary glance may show us the questions that are in the main common to all countries, and therefore too wide for our present survey, and those which are of such a restricted and partial character that they would most naturally be discussed in the separate sections of this work. To begin with, let us see whether our educational institutions have any general foundations that are secure, and whether they are built in some fashion as a city that is compact together. 'Walk about Zion, and go round about her: tell the towers thereof. Mark ye well her bulwarks, consider her palaces: that ye may tell it to the generation following.'

Language.

Of all common bonds in education, language is the most obvious, and here the want of coherence between British subjects regarded for a moment as a single community is self-evident. Almost every part of our Empire has its own particular difficulty in this respect, and some have more than one; yet when we view the dominions as a whole, it is clear that their problem is not the same as the problem of the world itself in regard to language. For in speech, in writing, and in thought, English remains an instrument insensibly yet irresistibly drawing together

the leaders of every separate community within the ambit of the Crown. In this connexion we are tempted perhaps to think too often of the South African Dutch, or of French Canadians, brought into closer understanding with each other and with their fellow-subjects through their leading professional men and their merchants, or through political chiefs speaking the same language across the council table in Whitehall. But our minds should dwell no less insistently upon the hundreds of thousands of Bengalis, for example, whose thoughts must unconsciously become modified by the ever-ripening experience of their poet and spiritual leader, Rabindra Nath Tagore. His knowledge of Western civilization, and in particular his wonderful English transliterations of his poems in the vernacular, change, by the very effort required for self-expression in our language, his own state of consciousness ; and therewith colour all his subsequent interpretation of us to his fellow-countrymen as surely as they draw us closer in spirit to a little-understood people. What we have then to consider under this head is not only a problem of language but of leadership.

Religion.

Or take another bond in education, a common religion. That, even in the United Kingdom itself, there is no sufficient agreement about creeds to bind together the whole community for the corporate development of its schools is matter of everyday experience. And when we survey the Empire as a whole, how difficult it is to describe religion otherwise than as a force antagonistic to all common effort for education, that is to say, to all such effort as extends beyond the limits of each separate religious society. Here there is not, as in the case of language, any link connecting the leaders of the various communities ; on the contrary, those in spiritual high places are usually the very citizens who find it most difficult to understand one another on theological grounds, or to act in concert with regard to school matters. Religious controversies about education are world-wide, it is true, and so far this is not specially a British problem ; but as there exists no other empire embracing so many creeds

as our own, so there is none besides in which the same variety of political expedients has been devised to overcome the school difficulties arising in consequence. Of such expedients more than one have been widely adopted throughout the dominions under the Crown; and these it will be necessary to discuss in turn, if only to illustrate that characteristic British temper in politics which combines forbearance towards religious agencies engaged in the work of education (and even support of their efforts under conditions tending to bring about harmonious action) with a definitely constructive policy on the part of the State, or of the corporations having derivative authority therefrom. It is not for nothing that the religious history of the United Kingdom has become interwoven in a special degree with her political consciousness. Educational compromises and understandings that in the past have served the purposes of England and Scotland themselves, or of Great Britain in connexion with Ireland, are now available over a wider field, and as between religions more fundamentally opposed than any forms of Christian belief which have militated against one another within those isles.

The factor of law.

Ethics have only a subordinate place in the settlement of the foregoing question. Indeed it would be easy to point to more than one European nation which sets greater store than our own upon moral instruction in the schools. But while direct ethical considerations enter so little into our field of view, it is quite otherwise with law. Law will be found, unconsciously perhaps to the average Englishman, to dominate many of our thoughts in regard to education. By law it is here intended to convey not only a body of existing laws, but the means at hand for their due enforcement and also for their alteration when alteration is required. Among the educational problems of the British dominions as a whole, which are most insistent, is the adaptation to other circumstances and other peoples of that habit of mind with regard to law which scarcely ever becomes a matter of formal instruction in our English schools, but is insensibly acquired by our youth at every

stage of growth, no less at home or upon the playing fields than in the class-room. It occupies a predominant place in our ideas of citizenship, and as an educational force permeating the whole Empire seems likely to grow to be a stronger bond even than the English language itself.

The economic factor.

To these conditions as they specially affect school problems within the British dominions must be added an economic factor. The prosperity of a country—not only its wealth and its industries, but also the direction and rate at which these are changing—is related to its educational development in many ways; most obviously through the financial school burdens which any particular government is able to sustain. There are parts of our Empire in which prosperity coupled with other causes have led to the school systems being brought to as high a level as in any part of the world. But if our view be extended over the whole field, it is not true that British subjects are as well educated as the subjects of those other Great Powers whose populations are more homogeneous; and in this connexion it cannot be too carefully borne in mind, that the increased prosperity and higher education of even the most advanced of the British dominions depend in no small measure upon the simultaneous advance in these respects of the territories under the Crown which at present are comparatively backward. Such considerations apply with even greater force to those British communities in which there are two distinct social orders, of which one represents largely the hewers of wood and drawers of water. Any neglect of the development of the more backward group must react unfavourably upon the development of the other, and ultimately leave its mark upon the whole Empire.

Custom and race.

Thus language, religion, law, and economics have each their special relation to the educational problems before us, though these relations are not wholly independent of one another. Indeed, it may with justice be said that they are all held together within the mesh of custom. There are those who would assign to race itself a foremost place in such a general discussion as this of school questions,

and others who would insist upon the supreme importance of physical conditions. But the more we consider how even views that can fairly be called modern have changed as to the characteristics and capacities of particular races, and as to the conditions of climate, &c., in which men of every race can live and thrive, the safer it seems to deal with the problems before us under the heads which have been already indicated. If, however, race is not to be specifically insisted upon as of prime importance, we must take the greater care to assign to custom its full weight as a means of adjustment between education and each of the elements already specified. The need for this has been touched upon, though not explicitly, in what has just been said about the British habit of thought in regard to religion and the schools, but let us now consider for a moment how custom stands to mediate between education on the one hand and law on the other. Each true social order is distinguished from all others by its own body of customs, and the more permanent of these customs are embodied in law. Regarded from the social point of view, education is one of the most potent instruments in the hands of a reformer to effect a permanent change of custom. In the process of time such change of custom produces a change of law. Change of law is thus closely related to, and is, in part, the result of a definite scheme of education. But again : no man of whatever natural capacities can be a truly useful member of the society to which he belongs whose customs are so different from those of his fellows as to make close association with them impossible. Whatever his other talents as an individual leader may be, he will fail on this account to be in touch with his countrymen and to carry them further upon their appointed path. Education, therefore, even to supply the needful leaders, and much more in the case of the rank and file, must largely be determined by custom, and particularly by that more definite portion which has become embedded in the law. Thus action and reaction go on unceasingly through the channels of tradition, and a check is supplied alike to those who seek to reform

a people by means of the education of its natural leaders in what may justly be called revolutionary ideas, and to those who in their impatience would select, for the same purpose, individuals brought up in a community with wholly different customs. All that can wisely be attempted by any ruler or government, external to a people, is to lift the whole of the younger generation a few steps above their elders in knowledge and desires, while leaving open the way for further progress to local initiative, so that by degrees the natural leaders of the people may appear and themselves shape the educational lines of advance of their fellow-countrymen. That British administrators have not more often or more completely failed in their efforts for the education of communities, while still in the condition of Crown colonies or of dependencies, is largely due to the respect of our whole nation for custom, and through custom for existing language, religion, law, and economic conditions.

1. Educational Problems relating mainly to Language

Let us now deal with those educational questions which are chiefly connected with language. It will be to our advantage to begin with the consideration of communities of British subjects far removed from our own in point of civilization ; for in this way many of the features of the problems to be attacked are sure to stand out in high relief, and we shall afterwards the more readily detect their presence elsewhere.

The teaching of English in non-British communities.

One of the most striking features about such communities is the complexity of their language in regard to all that has to do with personal relations. Social barriers have their corresponding barriers in speech to a degree almost beyond the conception of those who have not made a special study of the subject ; conventions in verbal usage correspond to conventions in intercourse ; in fact, periphrasis and shades of meaning and accent help to support the scarcely changing fabric of traditional life

and custom. Into contact with such a society come the explorer, the trader, the missionary ; and one of the first questions that presents itself to a people passing under their influence is : In what lies the secret of their power, of that swiftness and certainty of mind, of those almost inexhaustible resources ? At this stage, when the new-comers are no longer regarded as gods holding unquestionable gifts, there is a tendency to think that the foreign language is a chief cause of this amazing superiority. Words with such a community, it must be remembered, are almost vital in themselves ; at any rate under certain conditions, native thought invests them with an altogether magical power. Then what more natural than to infer that the speech of the strangers would give to the tribe, or to certain members of it who possessed the secret exclusively, that pre-eminence which they desire ? Accordingly, in the last analysis, this longing for schools is often found to be due to the wish to gain possession of the unknown tongue and all its supernatural potentialities. Even at a much later stage when, either by consent or through military domination, the British power has been firmly established, and when the missionaries or other school authorities are receiving grants in aid of education from government, the less thoughtful part of the population still clings to the notion that teaching is of little value unless the scholars are for the most part occupied in learning the English language. As a practical instance of this belief may be cited the difficulty so frequently experienced by school teachers in persuading native parents to pay even a small fee for spelling and reading books printed in their own language. By this time, on the other hand, another current of thought will certainly have invaded the minds of the chiefs and of the more thoughtful members of the tribe whose conservatism has not been touched to the quick by Christianity. With an ever-deepening mistrust they watch how new forms of speech and thought react upon the native language itself, and shake to its foundation one of the main pillars of tribal usage. They see that their sons, instead of being endowed with enhanced powers

and with a strengthened will to protect the integrity of native society as a whole, begin themselves to question the value of time-honoured customs, and even the limits of their own parents' authority. To us, the degree in which they do this may seem to be slight and even justifiable, but in such a society public opinion is extraordinarily sensitive as regards any departure from the ancient ways. There are thus antagonistic forces at work in the home, and in the village or tribal assembly ; some of the elder generation would shut out the foreign teaching altogether, some would confine education to the sons of chiefs and head-men, others would allow the desire for their own children's progress to outrun their wishes for the security and progress of the tribe as a whole. There are few who come to understand that the true method of dealing with the difficulty is to arrange for schooling to be as general as possible, and to make the native language a principal object of study as well as the chief vehicle of instruction. More than ever is this solution desirable when almost the sole means for the communication of ideas among the tribe has hitherto been by word of mouth. To acquire the arts of reading and writing, even in connexion with the native language, requires no mean effort, and during this period any instruction in English ought to be wholly oral. Under these conditions, and with reasonable facilities for correspondence, the power and the wish to write letters develop rapidly, nor will many generations go by before there thus appears the beginning of a written native literature. In addition to all this, the school authorities ought to insist upon a mastery of the mother tongue as a spoken language. In the tribal community oratory has a specially high value, and should children fall much below the mark of their fathers and grandfathers in this respect, education stands in danger of condemnation by the popular voice. Reasonable argument, however, may with advantage take the place of hyperbole, until the short sentence winged with truth begins to secure a greater meed of praise in the village assembly than a cloak of dissembling words.

Misdirection of effort to establish the teaching of English.

The foregoing treatment of the mother tongue is, as has been said, a counsel of perfection for which few of the members of the tribe are at once prepared. It is no less true that the foreign element in the community, whether missionaries or government officials, are usually disinclined to assign to the native language a predominant place in the schools. Any little English which the scholars may acquire has its obvious utility, while the extent of their progress in the language can very readily be gauged by the visiting inspector. Moreover, schools of this kind, with their smattering of an alien tongue, do not necessitate the training of experienced native teachers, a labour which, however amply rewarded in the end, presents initial difficulties of a high order and entails considerable expense. All these causes, working together both upon the foreign and upon the native elements of society, lead to the mother tongue being pushed into the background, and to an endeavour to make English from the very beginning the chief scholastic enterprise. Only when symptoms of intellectual indigestion become acute is any attempt made to diagnose the malady, and then the verdict usually given is one of arrested mental development. This would be true enough if the further assumption were not made that such arrest is due to some peculiar conformation of the native brain, rather than to the attempt to secure mental nutrition by means of a linguistic regimen which is often as pretentious as it is false. With this aspect of the question the writer has dealt at some length in a report (Cd. 4119) which was published by the Colonial Office in 1908, and to that source readers must be referred for a fuller discussion of the subject.

The study of the vernacular in Indian education.

The problem assumes a somewhat different form when we turn to consider those great communities in India that have a written language of their own, highly sensitive to thought of a particular order, but not so well adapted to record the results of modern scientific progress. Within the limits of this article it is impossible to treat otherwise than comprehensively the difficulties that arise in such cases, but at least it is clear that the study of the vernacular

should not have a less important (though a different) place assigned to it in Indian education than has been indicated as suitable in connexion with communities which are still in the tribal state. In many cases there are vernacular schools already in existence, and to put them on one side instead of strengthening them in every possible way is now regarded by the Indian Government as a mistake from almost every point of view. If much of the language teaching in such schools is formal and even obsolete in character, it is yet well to be patient as regards the application of modern methods of instruction, and in charity to remember some of the still-existing deficiencies in teaching English and other languages in even famous institutions of our own. Moreover, it would be well to make sure that we have a clear idea in our own minds as to the educational system which we propose to substitute for the sporadic schools that are condemned. If, for instance, a country is not rich enough to give more than one or two years' schooling to every potential scholar, then there is much to be said for limiting State assistance in general to a two years' course and for disregarding English altogether. A certain percentage of the youth of the community would show such aptitude as to warrant provision being made in their case for a longer school period, and in such cases English might be taught orally during the next two years. But any real study of our language in the written form ought to be reserved for that small minority of scholars who show themselves worthy of being assisted by Government to pass beyond the fourth year of school life. In the consideration of this strictly limited number of students, for whom the State in our crude, hypothetical instance would make provision, say, up to the eighth school year, we are already beginning to face the problem of training the leaders of the people, and one of the greatest dangers of education in their case is that the English text-books, provided for their use, frequently present to the native mind difficulties due to unknown social conditions as well as mere difficulties of language. Giving, as is inevitable, their chief

attention to the latter, the students will be inclined to pass more or less lightly over the social difficulties, and later on to underestimate the effort required for such transformations in society to the European model as they begin to desire for their own people. Had they, on the other hand, first encountered these unknown conditions of life in books written in their own language, their attention would have been forcibly directed to the necessity of grasping the true meaning of society organized under other forms, and the effort required to so transform their own community would, with a surer eye, have been seen as the labour of many generations of workers, rather than as on a level with the transient effort required to resolve a succession of verbal difficulties. School-books in English dealing with native life, and school-books in the vernacular dealing with English life,—this does not seem an unreasonable prescription to promote mental digestion: yet how many school authorities or publishers have grasped its full importance?

Canada and South Africa: the French and Dutch languages.

Finally, we come to that still more complex school problem, the treatment of language in the schools of a community which has two mother tongues, both of European origin. In this connexion the difficulties of Canada, though formidable enough, are less than those of South Africa, for in the latter country we have in addition to reckon with a preponderating native population, having their own vigorous forms of speech. At this stage, however, let us put the Bantu languages out of account. We have then in each of the dominions specified one other European tongue in rivalry with English, and the same peculiarity marks each case, namely that, though these two languages at the time they were carried overseas represented a civilization distinctly in advance of the English standard, that advantage has not been maintained: partly, no doubt, because of the rapidity of social progress in the British Isles, but partly also because Canada and South Africa during the past century have been more in touch with our own developments than with those of France and Holland. In the various

provinces making up these two self-governing dominions, different solutions of the 'dual language' question have been adopted in the schools, mainly in correspondence with the linguistic distribution of the population, but also according to the varying political exigencies of the hour. With some of these solutions we shall meet later on, when discussing school questions involving differences of creed; others would take us beyond the province of this general survey. But one fact as to our own procedure stands out in contrast with the action of our predecessors in the administration of these countries, namely the toleration which we have always extended to the mother tongue. Sometimes this principle is carried to a point that endangers any proper school system or general progress in studies, and in no case does it give completely satisfactory results from a pedagogic point of view. But it is a factor of immense importance in the political education of the citizen, and departmental ideals as to uniformity of text-books, curricula and organization must curtsy to its power. As we pass, however, from the east to the west of Canada, it is easy to note that the reverence paid to this tradition is less profound; the school organization tends to become centralized and the language curriculum uniform. In part this may be due to the same influences as have affected the United States, such as the rapidity of growth of the western communities, but also in part—and this requires emphasis—to the fact that English is there the predominant mother tongue, while French is only one of many others.

Nor must we forget the influence of university education as regards language upon the primary as well as upon the secondary schools. In Quebec the University of Laval is a very stronghold of the French language, and the organization of the various seminaries throughout the province, and elsewhere, to correspond with this central institution for higher learning, reveals all the Gallic genius for administration. There was a time, no doubt, when the University of McGill had more special relations to the spread of education among

the English-speaking community of the province of Quebec; but at the present day, when its outlook extends even beyond the Dominion of Canada, that institution has no particular linguistic significance. Rather should our attention be directed to such a small university as Antigonish in Nova Scotia, which serves the needs of Roman Catholics who wish to pursue their studies mainly in English. Hither from the province of Quebec come students not only of Irish but of French extraction, attesting the desire that exists for a mastery of our language in the case of all those who aspire to Canadian leadership in one form or another. In fact, the chief cause operating both in Canada and in South Africa to destroy the natural desire of parents for the education of their children in the mother tongue is the consciousness that, were the principle rigidly applied, the youth of English extraction would start with an economic advantage in life which might ultimately prove to be overwhelming. Still more do the university colleges of South Africa, even those which are predominantly Dutch in government, recognize in practice this superiority of English. There is no institution in any of the provinces which in its teaching gives that place to the language of Holland which Laval gives to the French tongue. It is true that the University of the Cape of Good Hope (the degree-giving body but not a teaching institution) does maintain a theoretical equality between English and Dutch. But this is more a point of honour than of expediency, and we may find a tendency of the same kind in one of the universities of Ireland. It is thus evident that the tendency for English to become the general means of communication as between all persons of European extraction, however slow in operation, and however much restricted artificially in certain cases, is an irresistible tendency. Self-government, and especially local self-government, when invested with educational powers, does in the end accelerate the process, for precedent has not the same weight under free constitutional conditions as under a paternal government.

Modification of English in oversea dominions.

But while, in the self-governing dominions, English must more and more become the one European language in everyday use, it will undergo some modification in the process. Dutch words which would never have found their way to us from Holland are being brought home from South Africa to become incorporated in the language, and so in other cases. We have, however, in the course of our island history, absorbed so many words and phrases from all quarters that this tendency is not altogether unregulated by tradition, and schools and writers may certainly be left to deal with the matter. It is otherwise with pronunciation. An inspector of schools in South Africa whose native land was Scotland once humorously alluded in the writer's presence to the woeful results of permitting Scotch songs to be taught to Dutch children by English teachers. And possibly an inspector born south of the border might equally have objected to the recitation of English ballad poetry by the same children under the instruction of a teacher from the other side of the Cheviots. The truth is that no scheme to give greater uniformity to the pronunciation of the King's English has, so far as the writer is aware, yet been put forward generally in connexion with the training colleges for teachers throughout the Empire. Yet this is a reform well within the compass of our present scientific treatment of phonetics, and the expenditure of a comparatively small amount of money would produce an astonishing difference in this respect within three or four school generations. The chief difficulty is the absence of any standardizing authority.

2. Educational Problems relating mainly to Religion

Position of religion in schools and universities.

To understand the ground which religion occupies in the schools and universities of the British Empire, it is almost necessary to begin with a backward glance. In England the mould in which our educational system is cast has been determined primarily by the existence of a national Christian Church. This mould has often been

shaped anew, not only through the defection of this or that body of worshippers, and the changes in social structure thus brought about, but also through that indifferentism to all church organization, and that growing demand for complete individual freedom in regard to the things of the spirit, which are a special mark of our own age and of its scientific method. Yet much of the old pattern remains, and upon no part of the population is it so distinctly impressed as upon the youth of the country that has been educated in our public schools and grammar schools, and in the ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. As it is they who fill most of the higher administrative positions in such parts of the Empire as are not yet able to train their own executive officers, the dominating influences of this special type of education are of more than local importance. Let us, therefore, begin at this point.

In the main, those school ideals which were sedulously cultivated by the Church of England at a time when the English nation itself was growing to manhood are still working directly or indirectly to bring the British Empire to maturity. To minds almost incessantly occupied with the new problems of Australian or Canadian life, conscious of the vast potentialities of these countries, and alert to the significance of every fresh social or industrial experiment, the effect of the old traditions slowly working out their fulfilment in less democratic surroundings may pass unnoticed. Yet throughout India, and to a lesser extent in the communities still under Crown colony administration, each step, however small, in the direction of a national life and of local self-government, is watched with the closest attention, and it is for this vast population, outnumbering all other communities of British subjects, that the training of their alien rulers has a special importance.

Self-discipline and self-government.

Apart from any particular conditions for acquiring knowledge, the characteristic student life, whether in the public schools or the older universities of England, is marked by self-discipline and self-government, and these characteristics can undoubtedly be traced back to educa-

tional foundations of religious origin belonging to pre-Reformation days. It was the combination of the two—that is, the self-discipline of the individual and the self-government of the community—which served so well the needs of the English people when transferred from the college to the nation, and which must again bear fruit whenever they are judiciously planted together in a new soil. Having himself in most cases this school-training, the Indian official lays his hand easily upon the life of the village (or larger) community ; he understands that its self-government must be respected, and in imagination he resents, almost as if he were again a boy, any suggested petty interference with the custom of the people. In consequence he is readily obeyed in those larger matters in which, with a certain aloofness, he deals out even-handed justice. But his comprehension of the value of self-government would not carry him far without that self-discipline which conceals itself under the strangest names, not only in his school life but also in his after-career. However he and his colleagues may try to disguise the quality, it takes its origin largely in some forgotten rule of a monastic community now embedded within a social code.

Indian teaching.

This self-discipline in its present form is very different from that of the Indian ascetic who leaves all that he has to pursue a life of contemplation and austerity ; it is in no way separated from the wholesome discipline of citizenship or relegated to another part of our mortal existence. Though few Indian teachers would go so far as to say that the earlier years of life should be dissociated from all training in self-denial, yet it is remarkable how comparatively great is the stress, in ways which have now become traditional, our own education places upon the subordination of the desires of the individual to the good of the community as a whole. It is in part his knowledge that the character of the Indian boy has not been specially developed in these directions which makes many an Indian civil servant ready to assert that the country is altogether unripe for self-government ; whereas, as a matter of fact,

and in a hundred ways unnoticed by himself, he is giving to the people under his charge a zest for governing themselves. Some Anglo-Indians indeed would go further and declare that, whatsoever the school training of the future, the youth of India is incapable of acquiring the characteristics we have been considering. But our habit of dogmatism in regard to matters of education has received so many shocks in the past that we may well suspend judgement for a few generations and observe the effect of establishments, such as the Muhammadan College of Aligarh, which follow more or less closely the English model. Though these residential colleges are not as yet numerous, they are representative of movements for reform in education on the part not only of Muhammadan, but also of Hindu thinkers and patriots. There is, for instance, in the United Provinces the central school of the Arya-Samaj, that remarkable society formed for the purpose of freeing the Hindu religion from those grosser elements of ritual and belief which according to the founder of the movement do not form any part of the ancient Vedas. Since the social code demanded by the Arya-Samaj is much in advance of that expected from Hindus in general, the society is not acting without foresight in adding to its general school system the academy known as the Gurukul, designed to train a band of 'Servants of Humanity'—schoolboys and collegians withdrawn entirely from their homes at the age of seven or eight years and remaining for sixteen years in the beautiful surroundings of the institution under school conditions which reminded one observer of his old Charterhouse days. Again, there is in Bengal the boarding-school founded and maintained by Rabindra Nath Tagore, of whom mention has already been made. This is an institution of some two hundred boys, proportionately as well staffed as the very best of our own schools, since there is a master to every ten scholars. No less removed from town influences than the Gurukul, this school (although a personal undertaking) may be taken to be representative of the Bramah Samaj, a comparatively small body of Hindus who hold in esteem

all religions that accept a single omnipotent Deity. As the founder of the school himself has acknowledged, it was the idea of social service, as he saw it practised among Anglo-Saxon nations, which led him to undertake this educational work.

Of earlier foundation than these, and yet having objects of a similar kind, is the Muhammadan Anglo-Indian College at Aligarh which has already been mentioned. It was established in 1875 to provide a college 'in which Musulmans may acquire an English education without prejudice to their religion', with a boarding-house 'to which a parent may send his son in the confidence that the boy's conduct will be carefully supervised, and in which he will be kept free from the temptations which beset a youth in big towns'. Its founders definitely contemplated from the first the establishment not only of a boarding-school but of a Muhammadan university and college in one.

Some of these native boarding-schools and university colleges and hostels have doubtless been started as the result of observing the influence of similar institutions founded locally by the various Christian missionary organizations at a time when it appeared not impossible that our language and religion would flood all India and sweep away most of the ancient landmarks. These landmarks are indeed being submerged by degrees, though not through any general Anglicization of society. Drawing together their students from widely separated localities, the tendency of the native academies themselves is to broaden the outlook of the rising generation and to minimize such religious observances as those of caste. The spirit of social service also works to the same end. Thus schools promoted by indigenous rather than by foreign agencies may ultimately be responsible for changing the traditions of India. To a certain extent the very important schools, colleges, and boarding establishments of the Christian missionaries in our great dependency may be compared to those educational establishments of the oversea communities of the regular clergy which were

set on foot in England during the centuries immediately preceding the Reformation. It would not be safe to press the comparison too far, for in the present case there is a total absence of any unifying sacerdotal authority; moreover, the teachers chosen both by the English and the American missionary bodies are themselves strongly imbued with the principles of local self-government. And further, as against the comparison, there is not in India itself any single inspiring religious ideal, such as was provided in our own case by a national Church, tending to become co-extensive with the area of civil government. The principle of religious accommodation between Hinduism and the other chief creeds of India will have to make much progress before education can give to the leaders of the community a common patriotic impulse without sectarian reservations.

Schools and colleges in self-governing dominions.

Now let us turn our attention to the part which has been taken by schools and colleges of the same class in the development of the self-governing dominions. It would not have been surprising if institutions of so great a national influence, and financially so stable, as the best endowed of the public schools and colleges of Oxford and Cambridge, should during the nineteenth century have themselves developed similar institutions—daughter schools and colleges—amid the rapidly growing communities of Englishmen overseas. Yet this course has never yet been taken, and with few exceptions the foundation of new schools and colleges in the self-governing dominions has been left to the meagre resources of the Christian churches in those parts. There are indeed a few proprietary boarding-schools, and some private ventures wholly independent of religious agencies, while of late years certain public authorities have recognized the value of educational opportunities of this order and have encouraged them in various ways, but such exceptions do not affect the predominance of denominational effort. The poverty of the churches, and the slender resources of their leaders, distinguish these educational endeavours from the majestic foundations of a former national church and of

its prelate-statesmen. The heart of the difficulty, however, lies less in poverty than in the want of union between Christian agencies, none of which is able to give its whole strength either to its patriotism or to its creed. Whether we look to Canada, New Zealand, South Africa, or to Australia, we still find the Church of England and the Wesleyan, Congregational, and Baptist connexions, all engaged in founding their special boarding-schools without any unity of purpose, and sometimes in direct rivalry one with another. The confusion, which is not lessened when we take into consideration similar institutions of Presbyterian origin, becomes definitely greater on adding the various Roman Catholic schools in the colonies founded by religious orders mostly having their head-quarters in Ireland. It is not that in these last schools there is any less fervour for the country of adoption; the precise difference of attitude is perhaps best illustrated by the reply once given to an inquirer who had been spending some time listening to the tuition given in the various classes of an Australian institution of this kind. 'What do you teach', the visitor asked, 'about the British Isles?' 'Islands', his guide replied, with a twinkle of the eye 'that could be dropped into Port Philip without being missed.'

A remedy for this excessive detachment of national spirit, as well as for other social differences to be found more or less in the boarding-schools of all religious denominations, is often sought by parents of large means. They send their sons, and sometimes their daughters also, to receive their education in the home country. Few educationalists would question that in this way the traditions of the public school and college are more fully acquired, but on the other hand there is a danger lest the student's interests should become so closely identified with those of his school-fellows that on returning to his own country he finds himself permanently out of touch with the life about him. This danger has been recognized by the Rhodes Trustees. Nearly all the Oxford scholarships which they have at their disposal are offered to

students who have completed their usual university training in their own country, and whose minds are thus in a less plastic state than the minds of schoolboys. As regards natives of India, the metamorphosis of certain of the young students whose parents are in a position to give them an education in England is far more striking and even tragic; it has been made the theme of one at least of the most powerful works of fiction of the day.

Association between educational institutions at home and overseas.

What then is the third alternative to sending boys home or to educating them overseas in schools which are liable to be rendered narrow and sectional by being governed in the interests of a particular religious community? It lies in taking direct advantage of the schools so securely and anciently planted at home, and in carrying overseas as much of their organization and spirit as is suitable to the needs of the community desiring similar institutions. To do this upon the large scale would need an endowment little short of princely, but were the benefaction forthcoming, and did the pious founder place the money in trust with the governors of the school in the old country for the purpose of establishing a daughter school in one of the self-governing dominions, then it is difficult to imagine that the trust would be refused. But apart from the realization of this vision of a new Winchester or Eton, equipped as those English colleges are equipped, and having a staff of masters drawn primarily from the home school, though afterwards reinforced from its own boys, something may be done by linking together two existing institutions, one in the old and the other in the new country. Through an exchange of masters, and possibly also of some of the scholars, the traditions of the two schools would tend to approximate to one another, especially if the chapel service raised no difficulty. At the present moment, for example, the schools of Rugby and Clifton (which themselves have many of the same traditions) are engaged in an experiment of this kind with one of the oldest of the New Zealand schools—Christ's College, Christchurch. When the advantages

of such an inter-relation of staff have been more fully perceived, it is not unlikely that the principle will be extended, and in the course of time there may even arise a benefactor in each of the self-governing dominions with sufficient breadth of view to endow the associated school in such a manner that it will equal or even outrival the English public school with which it is connected. Let patience have her perfect work. Nothing is more remarkable than the way in which Scotland has gradually acknowledged the need of this type of school as supplementary to the rest of her educational system. Fettes College, and other institutions less richly endowed, stand as witnesses to the advantage of training boys to public school ideals in the country of their birth.

There is of course no reason against a similar direct association between the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge and hostels or halls of residence in connexion with the far-flung universities of the British Empire. In fact the principle could be applied nowhere with greater advantage than to our English municipal universities which upon the whole are lamentably deficient in residential facilities. Why should not Birmingham, for example, settle her acknowledged hostel difficulties in this fashion? It is significant that in the Victoria University of Manchester, which is specially well equipped with halls of residence, there is a growing approximation to the ideals of the Oxford and the Cambridge colleges. Of the other British universities founded during the nineteenth century, one of the best provided with a residential system is Melbourne. Here we find sections of land reserved by the Act of Incorporation to the use of the various denominations (Church of England, Presbyterian, Wesleyan and Roman Catholic) for residential purposes. And the very denomination that has traditionally associated itself in Scotland and elsewhere with day universities is here in the possession of the largest hall of residence of all, for Ormond College was mainly built with money contributed by a Presbyterian of this name whose donations and bequests amounted in all to over £100,000.

The college university.

One other type of religious foundation in connexion with higher education deserves especial notice. It is the college which is a university in itself. Perhaps the most conspicuous example, certainly that which has most influenced, and been most influenced by, the country in which it was placed, is Trinity College, Dublin. It began as the bulwark of a national Church alien to the beliefs of the vast majority of the people. Religious privileges and religious proscription have now legally come to an end, and the corporation in many ways gives evidences of increased liberality of thought. But for all its glories, and for all its claims to have trained great leaders of every shade of opinion, Trinity College has never occupied a position in Ireland analogous to the position of the University of Laval in the province of Quebec. It is to the latter we must turn if we would estimate truly the influence of a great religious foundation, both university and college, which remains altogether steadfast to the principles of its foundation. Now the attitude of Laval, cut off from its Gallican and royalist traditions, and standing at the port of entry to all the swirling thought of Canada of to-day, is very simple. It rejoices in the guarantees for religious liberty, and for a definitely denominational education, which British forms of government afford. It wants no change. Its sons would be among the most loyal defenders of those constitutional privileges which have been handed down from generation to generation, whether they were attacked from within or from without the Dominion. But Laval stands aloof from the newer ideas of nationhood which are taking possession of the rapidly filling western provinces, and from their State-directed universities. Canada, as a whole, striving to subordinate denominational differences in education to a larger sense of citizenship within the Dominion, and even feeling her way to a share in the general government of the Empire, receives no encouragement from the university that is centred in the city of Quebec.

Without seeking fresh examples, we may then conclude that the college which is itself a university, and which

still maintains the ecclesiastical principles of its foundation, only accentuates the difficulties of a truly national development of education, unless indeed it is representative of the religious thought of the whole people. It completes that work of dividing the leaders of the community from one another which has been already begun in the denominational boarding-schools. Sectarian influences in education must have become absorbed in national ends before they cease to conflict with the ever-growing ideas of citizenship.

Religious training of teachers.

Put in one way, the solution of this educational problem might seem to lie in religion becoming the handmaid of nationality. But this is to state the question altogether amiss. It is not religion, but competing creeds and organizations that have to be reckoned with; and even these ought not to be subordinated to the national existence, but to find their right adjustment within it. Perhaps we shall make the position clearer if we turn to consider the training of another class of leaders of the community—those who are chosen to teach the multitudes of our day—scholars in primary as well as in secondary schools. In doing so we may leave out of sight the public school masters and all college tutors. For one peculiarity of the type of education that we have been considering hitherto is that the staff is selected almost wholly from within the system itself, and that special training of individuals for their work is rarely held to be necessary. Turning then to the day-schools, we find the various churches no less solicitous to train the teachers than they are to educate the sons of well-to-do parents in their boarding-schools. But in this case most of the denominational agencies are pulled up abruptly because training colleges cannot be made self-supporting, or even nearly so. Accordingly there is generally an application to some public authority for grants in aid, and the public authority makes its own conditions before pecuniary help is forthcoming. In some cases, church authorities are allowed to provide separate training colleges and to teach the students in residence in their own

way, subject of course to the passing of prescribed examinations in secular subjects. In other cases intending teachers must present themselves at a public institution, such as a normal school or a day university, for all but their religious studies, these being sometimes given them in a recognized hostel of which they become inmates. In other cases again, students of all denominations reside together in one college or hall under the supervision of a public authority, and are required to make external arrangements for attendance at divine service and for doctrinal instruction. These arrangements are not of course the same in all parts of the Empire, and the opportunity for denominational instruction is now less complete in England itself than in some of the other dominions under the Crown. But upon the whole it may be said that British education authorities view with favour the religious training of those who are to become teachers. So much for the attitude of the school managers ; but in all fairness let us also consider the position of those who accept the call to so high a service. In the course of their training they have studied religion to a certain extent, and they have also studied science. What do they find ? Science teaches them to prove all things and to hold fast to that which is good. And they can see for themselves that it is this rule of action which tends to bring into harmony every mode of thought which aims at being scientific. That science has its dogmas no less than religious systems is known to all original thinkers engaged in research. But those dogmas are continually being reviewed in the light of fresh experiments, so that if we survey broadly the field of material knowledge we find sufficient general agreement to enable us to march on shoulder to shoulder to new conquests. Thus, if the mind of the intending teacher be sufficiently thoughtful and detached, he perceives that there is a scientific method quite apart from the subject-matter of experiment, and that this method constantly tends to the reconciliation of opposing theories in each of which there is an element of truth. But in

his study of religion, he looks in vain among ordinary theological tenets and modes of discussion for a corresponding principle. Is it any wonder then that many young teachers should accept their religious instruction, and the particular creed with which their training college is associated, as formalities necessary to advancement in their profession but of no vital consequence for the conduct of their future scholars or of themselves? The very Bible lessons are treated in a conventional way, and many instructors while thus engaged must have thought inwardly what one master of a class of small boys was sufficiently unrestrained to say aloud, 'Pretty fables, ain't they?' Thus, there is a constant tendency among modern teachers to take the lower ground of moral instruction, and to dwell upon civic ideals, forgetting that boys and girls who are being taught in a deeply religious spirit not only advance the furthest in character and in the evidence of things not seen, but outstrip their fellows in secular knowledge also.

Religious disunion.

There is probably no remedy for the state into which the religious training of our teachers has fallen, until it is generally acknowledged that the scientific method is as applicable to things spiritual as to things material. This may become clearer if we consider for a moment a point of view which may fairly be taken by those responsible for the training of the staff of the many non-Christian schools throughout the British Empire. To Hindu and Muhammadan thinkers and educationists in India the Christian religion must appear to have a close and even necessary connexion with science. That rapid progress of the Western nations in material prosperity, which on our part is often explained short-sightedly by an unswerving adhesion to modern methods of research, appears to them with their longer views as the result of religious processes working within the community. If they turn to our Book of Books, this belief is confirmed by saying after saying which has the true ring of scientific inspiration. 'Prove all things: hold fast to that which is good' is only one of many such utterances, to be found in the Old Testament as well as in the New. Indeed it

is this very scientific aspect of Christianity which is likely to create a profound distrust of our religion in the minds of those who are charged with the training of Indian teachers. Would they be wrong if they said in their hearts that our religious beliefs only led us into agreement about material things, while we split up into unnumbered factions as soon as we approached the things of the spirit, and hence that Christianity was in the main a materializing religion? This may well explain the great change which has come over India since the time when the earlier Christian missionaries seemed to be in the fair way to carry all before them. On the one hand we are there witnessing, at the present time, a revival of interset in education founded upon purified teachings in regard to both the Hindu and the Muhammadan religions; on the other hand is seen a profound religious apathy taking possession of many of those educated Indians who are being carried forward on a wave of national prosperity. Spiritual sensitiveness is at war with material well-being. And this state of things must continue in India, and the religious thought of her teachers grow ever more hostile to Christianity, until Christians can unite on some other basis than the material. Whenever the native leaders of opinion throughout the Empire come to recognize that Christian worship, in its primitive integrity, is the most spiritual of all forms of worship, in that spirit and flesh are distinguished as absolutely as truth and error, their chief cause of quarrel with our religion will be ended. But it cannot be expected that they should understand the significance of this teaching, until we ourselves are again willing to recognize the value of proof in religion, and to abandon unverifiable dogma.

In the meantime all that can be done is to mitigate so far as possible the bad effects of religious disunion. It is a noteworthy feature in many of our educational systems that a lawful opportunity is provided for the intending teacher of a naturally devout mind to strengthen his gifts through religious training and to exercise his right influence upon the scholars assigned to him. This

will be further touched upon in the next section, in connexion with law. But it is equally important that nothing should be done to foster insincerity in religious teaching. In the present state of our beliefs, to discourage the young teacher who has faith only in the efficacy of moral instruction or of instruction in civics would be unwise ; to insist that he should teach in addition what he does not himself believe deserves a harsher epithet. We must carry on with our present halting systems of religious education, and with nationality as an instrument of social progress, until a future which can hardly yet be discerned reveals itself more fully. A logical solution of this greatest of school questions, which did not correspond to any logical attitude of mind on the part of the community as a whole, would only precipitate us into greater difficulties than we are experiencing at the present moment.

3. Educational Problems relating to Law and Economic Conditions

Just as British governments have shown the widest tolerance for existing languages and religions in the countries which they have been called upon to administer, so they have accepted existing systems of law ; indeed, in such countries the development of education often bears injurious traces of our readiness to accept established legal and social conditions. School precedents and school law, however, are always being modified by new ideas ; in some instances brought out from the old country, in others developed within the community itself, but in either case ideas which can usually be traced to an extension of British conceptions of citizenship, and to all that entails in the way of education.

School law and system in Canada,

Nowhere is this tendency more fully marked than in Canada, where at the time of our first occupation a school system under clerical management was already in existence. In the province of Quebec there has been less change in the spirit of the school law than elsewhere, the schools

of the Roman Catholic majority still developing under the direction of their Church, while separate schools are provided for the Protestant minority, each of these sections of the community being rated for the education of their own children. Educationally the law acts in a very uneven manner, and it helps, of course, to perpetuate the division of the population into two opposite camps. In Ontario we find an inversion of these conditions; schools of a non-Catholic majority receiving the rates of that majority, and Catholic schools, often small and isolated, maintaining the same unequal fight for existence which is characteristic of many of the Protestant schools in the province of Quebec. In the Maritime Provinces, where Catholics and non-Catholics are more nearly equal in numbers, the people have long since given their voice for a common school system. Legislation on this basis at first encountered vigorous opposition on account of its undenominational character. But concessions were made in the administration of the law which have resulted in the establishment of a custom not less faithfully observed than if it had legal sanction. In the city of Halifax, to take an example, where the Protestants are, roughly, twice as numerous as the Catholics, the School Board consists of twelve members, eight of whom, according to the customary understanding, are Protestants, while four are Catholics. As far as possible, the children are taught in schools either wholly staffed with non-Catholic teachers or wholly with Catholics. Whenever there is a new teacher to be chosen, the Protestant members alone vote if the school has a non-Catholic staff, and in the contrary event the Catholics alone take part in the election. The same inspectors visit all the schools, and the same central authority prescribes the various courses of study and the text-books. Religious instruction is given outside school hours. In smaller and less densely populated school areas modifications of these arrangements have to be made. But the spirit in which the school system is administered remains practically identical in every district

throughout Nova Scotia, and the same spirit, under slightly different statutory conditions, is manifested in New Brunswick also. It has not only imparted much vigour to both primary and secondary education, but has greatly assisted the formation of right ideas of citizenship.

and in other dominions.

In the Cape of Good Hope, to take a second instance, there is probably much that was originally customary in the procedure for the establishment and maintenance of schools, legal sanction having been obtained at a later period. The initiative lies with the local community, and the school managers are chosen by those members of the community who are willing to guarantee a certain proportion of the expenses of the school and to comply with other conditions laid down by statute and by the regulations of the central authority. Under these conditions the managers are given large powers with regard to the choice of teachers, language, and religious instruction. The system is elastic, for though the single school is the unit of administration, the same managers can be chosen for any number of schools in a populous area having local government of its own.

Let us again consider the arrangement made in a self-governing dominion which from the first was colonized by the British race and therefore had not to deal with the difficulties presented by antecedent school conditions. In the centrally-controlled schools of New South Wales, the right of entry for religious instruction has been conceded to persons specially appointed by the various denominations to give such instruction, though the extent to which it has hitherto been used is disappointing. In this instance, too, the privilege is guaranteed by law, yet if it were not also secured in the goodwill of parents and other citizens, it might be made difficult to work. The truth is that such laws and customary arrangements as we have been considering are generally established at a time of great popular tension in regard to school matters, and therefore it is not often possible to extend these usages to other communities which are without experience

of a similar educational crisis. Much consideration is therefore requisite before we attempt to adapt to our present-day problems in Great Britain and Ireland the expedients which have been eminently successful in securing the peaceful development of the schools in British communities overseas. Nor have our own educational expedients always been available for the use of the self-governing dominions, or of India and the Crown colonies, though the knowledge that law and custom can usually be relied upon to furnish whatever fresh devices are necessary for the solution of any social problem connected with education is infinitely valuable.

Extension of franchise and extension of education.

In one respect nearly all communities of British subjects have had the same experience, namely that the laws extending education to a larger and larger proportion of the population have been preceded by laws for an extension of the franchise. It has been so often argued that certain classes of the community are not ready for the vote because they have not been educated that this repeated experience reversing what seems to be the logical order of legislation is very remarkable. There is, however, one notable exception. The education of women generally precedes their participation in public affairs, and this exception indicates the true reason for the anomaly noted above. There must be members of a particular class who have been enfranchised and have received the benefit of schooling for their children, before political pressure can be applied in the next generation to get the vote for the less fortunate members of that class. School advantages are then made more general by the governing classes, because in their opinion it would be dangerous to continue to allow electoral power to remain in the hands of wholly uneducated persons. So we proceed step by step to compulsory education for boys and manhood suffrage. But where there are no enfranchised women, there is no lever to extend the franchise. Compulsory education for girls is probably enacted at the same time as for boys on grounds which are mainly economic, since even in the poorest families, where the

mother cannot with certainty count on any spare time, the home education of children is one of the chief elements making for their future success in life. Something also is no doubt conceded to the argument that it would be unfair for boys and girls in one family to be brought up altogether differently.

Sex and education.

To get a larger view of the relation of sex to education, we should turn for a moment to communities of British subjects in less advanced stages of social development. In Basutoland, to take an example of tribal life, we find that in the southern districts, where Christianity has made most progress, the proportion of boys and girls at school is not very unequal. But when we reach the extreme northern districts, which are almost completely heathen, there are scarcely any but male scholars. In India again, for all the higher social development of its village life, the percentage of girls receiving education is abnormally below the percentage of boys, except among the small Christian population. Therefore, religion is an essential factor in this question. Now that Indians have been granted additional powers of self-government, it will be peculiarly interesting to note whether the demand already being made by the native leaders for additional school facilities becomes popularly extended so as to cover the instruction of both sexes. It raises in another form those practical aspects of the Christian religion which, largely because of their importance for the health and economic development of the community, have often determined the action of British governments, even in opposition to local ecclesiastical authority. It is scarcely too much to say that the education of girls will ultimately become a matter of paramount importance for India, and if by degrees a new conception of the equality of the social obligations of men and women permeates the whole community, then religious custom and thought (for Hindus and Muhammadans alike) must advance on lines parallel to those on which our own higher social thought is advancing. To that mental progress, it is safe to say, will be joined an economic development of the

country which at present it is altogether impossible to estimate.

Economic expansion and education.

For the self-governing dominions, the nineteenth century represented such a period as we have just been considering. New industrial conditions and new civic conceptions changed men's thoughts with regard to education, and in their turn received fresh impulses from the more general dissemination of knowledge. The rate at which economic expansion went on had a marked influence upon the organization of school systems. For instance, in a state such as Victoria, which developed with extraordinary rapidity, whatever local and denominational framework for education existed in the early days of the community broke down altogether, and the full responsibility for primary school organization had to be accepted by the State itself. The buildings were vested in the Minister of Education, and teachers became civil servants, both buildings and teachers being catalogued and known by a simple number. In New South Wales and the other Australian States, in which the industrial expansion has been only less rapid than in Victoria, there is the same tendency towards over-centralization. Fortunately for Canada and South Africa, an older and less rapid development of their resources preceded the time of immigration on a larger scale. Consequently traditions as to the value of local autonomy in regard to school government had had time to establish themselves in both dominions, counteracting the natural tendency in new and rapidly-filling districts to place education altogether in departmental hands. Nevertheless, if the Transvaal be compared with Cape Province, or Alberta with Nova Scotia, it will be seen that local responsibility for schools is not as great in the newer as in the older province. As the populations of the self-governing dominions increase, this question of the decentralization of education will become increasingly important. But these communities may comfort themselves with the reflection that even in England itself the mould into which local school authority is now poured was not devised until the beginning of the present century.

Effects of industrial development on the quality of education.

In the last place let us consider how our rapid industrial expansion has affected the quality of education. It is to the development of the applied sciences, especially of engineering, that that expansion is due. And at the foundation of most new engineering processes is the power of accurate measurement. The nineteenth century became in fact the age of exact measurement to such a degree that in everything the measurable property was that which was sought out, even in those cases in which it might have an insignificant value in comparison with other properties which could not be reduced to a simple statistical basis. It was so in education. The immeasurable, living influence which the teacher is able to bring to bear upon his pupils could, it was assumed, be neglected for the numerical results to be obtained in connexion with a written or possibly an oral examination. Great Britain, as the pioneer of industrial expansion, was peculiarly open to this fallacious reasoning and at that time carried with her a wrong standard of education wherever she went. 'Payment by results,' as a means of educational control of the primary schools, was actually invented by a Chancellor of the Exchequer who previously had had Australian experience, nor has its influence been less disastrous for education in Victoria than in England. In connexion with secondary schools, our ancient universities lent their great authority to scarcely less cheap forms of appraisement, instituting a series of examinations which lay entirely outside their own teaching responsibilities. The Charity Commissioners, with their new schemes for grammar school foundations, used subtler methods, but everywhere the competitive spirit was encouraged at the expense of the co-operative, and there was a tendency to disregard all distinction of mind which could not readily be trained to yield equal distinction in examination. We have our reward in the present state of secondary education—still being submitted to measurement in detail and still unorganized. But perhaps the greatest mischief of all has been done in the field of university work, through which the measuring-machine

of examination has been carried from the centre to the farthest confines of the Empire. New Zealand and India are conspicuous instances of the adoption of those false university standards which resulted from the mid-Victorian policy of the University of London. Since that policy has now been condemned by official opinion in India and by more than one Royal Commission at home, we may take it that the problem before us in university as in lower education, is how most conveniently to substitute true standards for the false, the right incentives to intellectual effort for inducements which turn the acquisition of knowledge into a mere mechanical industry.

Technical instruction.

It would be most unwise, however, to abandon what was good in the old methods. Science rightly interpreted, and divorced no longer from the things of the spirit, will again uncover the realities of education. The dogmas of infallible text-books, learned by heart, and brought out for examination purposes alone, must go the way of those examinations themselves. Nothing should intervene between the teacher and the taught to diminish the eagerness of both to give and to receive a fruitful knowledge of life. But then our British teachers everywhere must be trained as they have never yet been trained. Not only should a higher standard of scholarship be exacted, but they should be afforded in much fuller measure during their training those opportunities for the development of character which have been made the special objective of our public schools and colleges. Teaching should also be a single profession, not divided arbitrarily into primary, secondary, and higher compartments. Sharp lines of demarcation of this sort are as bad for a national conception of education as are school divisions along purely denominational lines. On the same grounds it is desirable to render less extreme the differences of organization and of the subjects of study which separate the modern municipal universities from the older type of which Oxford and Cambridge are representative. Already we see the latter universities yielding to the demand for higher technical instruction in connexion with engineering and

agriculture as well as other subjects. On the other hand, even those municipal institutions which were started wholly for technical instruction are tending to become all-round university colleges, or even full universities, and to provide tutorial classes and even halls of residence. Thus excessive differentiation due in part to a false conception of economic needs may in time be obliterated ; and the process can be much assisted by the construction of an educational ' highway ' for every one of sufficient mental calibre, whatever his social position.

Conclusion.

As between different parts of the Empire we must also watch closely the effect of differing economic and legal conditions. If they are allowed to drive a permanent wedge between the ideals in which one community of British subjects and another are being trained, it can be only a question of time when separation shall take place. Hence congresses of heads of education departments and of university teachers and officials throughout the Empire have a special value. Hence, also, the great advantage of drawing the schools closer together through the interchange of their inspectors and of their teachers, and of correspondence between school-children in different countries. Even mistakes in our scholastic ideals may be regarded with greater toleration if they are made together and are rectified in the several dominions at no great interval of time.

For let us be clear of this, that the greatest educational conceptions which the mother country has to offer to all British subjects in all British lands are her ideals of character and of citizenship. This is by no means felt only in the dominions which have attained to self-government and to national self-consciousness in the fullest measure, and which are already helping to shape the course of our Empire. It has every whit as vitalizing an influence upon education in less advanced communities under the Crown—secretly aware, as they are, of a spirit that is causing their sons and their daughters to prophesy ; their old men to dream dreams and their young men to see visions.

CHAPTER VII

PROBLEMS OF HEALTH AND ACCLIMATIZATION IN THE BRITISH DOMINIONS BEYOND THE SEAS

By Dr. F. M. Sandwith

These health problems may be conveniently grouped under three headings—general hygiene, diseases affecting the whole Empire, and those with which our tropical possessions are chiefly concerned. The principles of hygiene are the same everywhere, but practical methods have to be adapted to particular circumstances.

General Hygiene

Water-supply.

The health of a community depends upon a supply of water, not only sufficient in quantity but pure in quality. In countries with a seasonal and irregular rainfall, like Australia, this question often becomes critical and is very difficult of solution. The quantity per head used in European cities varies from 16 gallons in Berlin to 50 gallons in Glasgow, daily. But in some rainless parts of Australia the miners have to be content with 2 gallons per head per day.

Granted an adequate supply, the purity of the water consumed should be the first care of a people or of an individual traveller. Shallow wells of a depth of 50 feet or less can only yield pure water when there is no risk of pollution from surface washings and when they are not near drains, cesspools, or cemeteries. Such wells should be protected by a raised parapet from surface washings. Reservoirs and cisterns should be covered, ventilated, and wire-netted to keep the water clean and to prevent their acting as breeding grounds for mosquitoes. Small fish are often kept in domestic cisterns to eat the larvae of gnats.

In towns water should be submitted to sand filtration before distribution; while doubtful water in small quantities must be heated to 180° F., which makes it less insipid to the taste than boiling and, of course, requires less fuel. This is a more satisfactory manner of dealing with water of doubtful quality than using domestic filters, many of which are quite useless, and all of which are less likely than heat to destroy dangerous micro-organisms, such as those of cholera, enteric fever, and dysentery. The possession of a filter gives a fictitious sense of security to the user, and the only permissible ones are the Pasteur-Chamberland and the Berkefeld, provided the filter candles of each are scrubbed and boiled at least once a week. Filtration.

When filtration and heat are impossible, water can be roughly purified by adding permanganate of potash to it, until a pink tinge appears and persists for half an hour. To purify a well temporarily 4 ounces may be placed in a bucket of water and poured into the well.

A gallon of muddy water can be cleared and purified to some extent by adding 6 grains of alum to it and then 5 grains of lime.

It is well to note that water should never be conveyed from the reservoir to houses by an open conduit, because it is certain to become polluted by man and rain. This has been repeatedly proved to be the source of disease in South Africa and in Egypt.

If the question of the water-supply is of paramount importance one of almost equal concern to the sanitary administrator is that of the disposal of sewage. The ideal manner of dealing with sewage is to use it as a fertilizer upon cultivated land, and every large town of more than 15,000 inhabitants should be provided with a drainage system to carry the refuse away from the population. But sewers seldom exist in villages and small towns, whence waste products must be removed by manual labour or by carts. In any conservancy system it is important to ensure protection from rain and flood-water in order to keep the quantity of sewage within manageable Sewage.

bounds. Therefore surface drainage should not be allowed to flow into the sewage drains, a mistake which has been made in some towns.

Until the twentieth century it was believed that some epidemic diseases were only water-borne, and it therefore seemed that the daily removal of house sewage by the pail and cart system furnished the best safeguard against the spread of enteric fever, which is a potential danger in every community. But modern knowledge teaches that some sewage-borne diseases are also communicable to man by dust and flies, and the discovery of this fact has added considerably to the difficulties of the problem.

Domestic sewage can be conveniently dealt with by cemented cesspools, isolated from the house, which can be emptied without nuisance by a hose attached to a large, specially constructed cart. By means of the hose the contents are pumped up, while the gases are rendered odourless by a system of passing them through a small fire attached to the mechanism of the pump.

All cesspools in warm countries become a successful breeding-place for mosquitoes, unless their ventilators and other openings are screened by wire gauze. It is also wise to pour petroleum into the cesspool once a week to destroy the mosquito larvae which are deposited as eggs in the sewage water.

The destruction of all house refuse by heat is ideal from the sanitary point of view, but it is seldom practicable.

Food-supply.

In considering the food-supply of a community care must be taken that the diet is neither poor in quality nor a vehicle of disease, while monotony must also be avoided. The customs and habits of the British citizen generally tend towards an excess of animal proteids in the dietary to the neglect of the other essentials which contribute towards perfect nutrition, but it should be remembered that there is more risk in under-feeding than over-feeding, often not in the quantity consumed, but in deficiency of nutrition resulting from a lack of one or more of the constituents necessary to preserve health. Scurvy, for instance, can be produced by a deficiency of fresh vegetables

and fruit, rickets in children is caused by substituting starchy food for milk, while beri-beri has now been traced to the use of rice, when it is the chief article of diet, which has been deprived of the outer layers of the grain by undue polishing.

A better knowledge of the value of foods would be very profitable among the people themselves, especially among women, whose business it is to purchase and cook it.

Infected milk has been found to disseminate many diseases, scarlet, enteric, and Mediterranean fevers, diphtheria, cholera, dysentery, tuberculosis, and infantile diarrhoea. The municipal authorities of a community are partly responsible for the quality of the milk-supply, and they should ensure that the greatest possible care is taken in the handling, distribution, and storage of milk. Those who cannot supervise scrupulous cleanliness at the dairy and in their own households must be content with boiled milk if they would keep themselves and their children alive.

Meat, whether fresh or frozen, should be carefully examined by an expert before it is exhibited for sale in the public market, and also before being accepted by the private individual; and all meat tins which show signs of bulging should be rejected. 'Measles' in the meat of the ox and pig are due to tiny cysts, which often develop into tape-worms in the human intestine.

Housing.

The housing of the people becomes an acute question sooner or later in every growing community, while the ill effects of bad housing have been many times illustrated in past and present history. Huts or houses improperly built and grouped together with no forethought or plan for the development of the future city have resulted in crowded areas, which eventually become so unhealthy as to necessitate the dispersal of the inhabitants or the entire rebuilding of those quarters. Wide streets, clean open spaces, and some building laws suitable to the locality are necessary for the health of the population, in addition to a pure water-supply and efficient sewage disposal. The neglect of good housing conditions encourages those

evils unfortunately familiar enough in great cities, tuberculosis, alcoholism, immorality, and many another plague among the poorest folk.

Health problems of empire: emigration of women.

The health problems of the British Empire beyond the seas can never be said to have been satisfactorily dealt with until it is shown that not only healthy young men, but also their women and children can live and thrive in every part of it.

Doctors and nurses are now a necessary accompaniment of our civilization, and if married women are not to shrink from maternity as their obvious duty to the Empire, trained midwives must be provided in the principal towns to lessen the dangers of child-birth. It is satisfactory to know that the Colonial Nursing Association in London has every year an increasing demand for nurses, and in 1913 the number of nurses at work is 298, of whom 114 are employed as private nurses or by the governments of Western Australia and Zanzibar, while the remaining 184 are in the service of the Government in the Crown Colonies. India is also gradually being supplied with trained nurses.

It may be right to send the flower of British manhood to people our far-away possessions, but the way must be made easy for their sisters and wives to follow them. If the preponderance of women over men is a grievance in Britain the remedy lies in encouraging women to migrate where they are urgently needed to help men to found homes in our newer countries. Healthy men should not be condemned to celibacy, but even this is preferable to what seems the alternative to some, the temporary mating with coloured women. Nothing is so likely to lower the colonizer in the native mind, nothing is so unnecessary from the physiological point of view, or more debasing to the dignity of the young colonist.

International Quarantine

Quarantine and inspection.

The British sanitarians have been for years the chief movers of that reasonable view of quarantine which refuses to regard measures against the importation of diseases into a country merely as means of self-defence.

The old-fashioned custom of excluding the healthy as well as the sick because they had had the misfortune to travel together on the same ship, and further to condemn the healthy to remain associated with the sick until all chance of safety had gone, has gradually been replaced by a form of more reasonable quarantine, which accepts the humane responsibility of caring alike for both sick and healthy.

The rational system of medical inspection, which is gradually superseding quarantine, depends in a great measure upon the gradual and steady growth of public opinion, which has been taught to rely upon the general hygienic conditions of the country as the best means of safeguarding its people from the ravages of epidemic diseases. The very existence of Britain depends upon free and untrammelled commercial intercourse with other countries, while we are exposed to the constant importation of epidemic disease as a natural consequence of our universal trade. The quarantine history of Britain has been that of a prolonged struggle between the two great interests of commerce and public health, but it has now been successfully demonstrated that the greatest freedom of trade can best be promoted by reasonable means adopted for the preservation of the public health.

History of quarantine.

Though quarantine, meaning the enforced detention and segregation of infected vessels arriving in any port, has been employed against many diseases, it was originally directed only against plague. So long ago as the year 542 the Emperor Justinian ordained that persons who came from a plague-stricken country should be isolated under observation for forty days, in order to ascertain whether they carried with them the germs of the disease. In 1374, when plague was devastating Lombardy, an order was issued that any person attacked with any disease should forthwith be exiled to the fields or woods until released by death or recovery, and, in imitation of the precepts of Leviticus, the parish priests were ordered under severe penalties to examine the sick and report the nature of their illness. So strong was the belief in

personal contagion that those who tended the sick were compulsorily isolated for at least ten days after the death of the patient.

The Venetians were the first to adopt a complete code of quarantine laws, and their revised model of 1448 served as a type for all other countries until recent times. Venice, then the great centre of trade with the East, was, by reason of its commercial prosperity, more exposed than any other State to the importation of plague. It was therefore enacted that all merchants and other persons arriving from the Levant must remain in the house of St. Lazarus for a period of forty days before they could enter the city. This gives us the origin of the term ' quarantine ' and of ' lazaretto ', the latter still in use, the name of the saint being itself derived from the Hebrew words, ' he whom God helps.'

The first quarantine Act in England was passed in 1710, under the influence of panic, for plague was then raging in the Baltic. Innumerable quarantine measures against plague and cholera followed until 1839, when a masterly dispatch from Lord Palmerston to the British Ambassador in Constantinople criticized the harsh measures of the Turkish Government, and pointed out that the enforcement of cleanliness and ventilation would strike at the causes of plague more effectually than the violent disturbance of domestic arrangements of families, which could only be productive of inconvenience and suffering to numerous individuals.

This brief historical summary has been introduced to point the moral that in former days ignorance demanded that all arrivals from plague ports and cargoes of ships should be shunned, while we now know that bubonic plague is not communicable from man to man, and that cargo and clothing are only dangerous if they convey the real vehicles of infection, i.e. the infected fleas of rats. As in all similar questions, knowledge and education based on that knowledge are of paramount necessity.

To give an illustration of the absurdity of unintelligent quarantine regulations, the writer may mention that in

1883, when Egypt was in dire need of disinfectants to deal with cholera, which was then devastating the country, he saw several cases of carbolic acid, which had arrived from England (where there was no cholera at the time) detained for some days by the quarantine authorities in Alexandria in order that the outsides of the wooden boxes should be sprinkled with a lotion!

The abolition of land quarantine and substitution of medical inspection.

One of many International Conferences was held at Vienna in 1874, when land quarantine was declared by a majority of the Powers to be useless, and for the first time medical inspection of ships and passengers was formally adopted instead of port quarantine, though a minority, headed by France, voted against it.

At the International Sanitary Congress at Dresden in 1893, the Powers agreed to keep each other informed of the progress of a cholera epidemic, and also of the means employed to prevent the spread of the disease.

In 1896 quarantine was formally abolished by Parliament in Great Britain, and an end was officially put to the custom of vexatious detention of a healthy vessel merely because she had arrived from an infected port. Since that date there has been a gradual inclination on the part of some other Powers to substitute the system of medical inspection for quarantine, but there are still some ports where the authorities cannot be made to see that quarantine, even when carried out as strictly as possible, has not the effect of arresting the importation of disease. Sir John Simon once defined quarantine as an elaborate system of leakiness. Speaking generally, it is those countries which rely upon a false feeling of confidence, engendered by quarantine regulations, which neglect those sanitary measures which alone are of any avail against the spread of infection.

Ample time has elapsed to test the system so long advocated by the British—medical inspection; but one of the successful instances may be quoted. In the summer of 1892, when cholera was raging in Hamburg, free and unrestricted intercourse took place between that port and Britain. No fewer than 35 cases (with 11 deaths) of

cholera were introduced by twenty ships into nine British ports between August and October, but in no single instance was there any spread of the disease. Seven of the cases were not discovered on arrival by the sanitary authorities, but, when recognized, they were isolated in hospitals.

Exclusion of epidemic diseases, therefore, requires the medical inspection of incoming ships at large sea-ports, with proper supervision of the health of the port population, besides suitable hospital accommodation for the isolation of the sick and for the observation of suspected persons. Bacteriological laboratories for diagnosis, and buildings and plant for efficient disinfection are also necessary.

All infectious diseases should be compulsorily notifiable, vaccination with calf-lymph against small-pox must be enforced, and the women who belong to the oldest profession in the world should be regularly inspected.

Diseases affecting the whole Empire

Alcoholism.

The first disease to be mentioned under this heading is alcoholism. The inhabitants of northern climates have always been addicted to strong drink as well as to strong meat diet, but although educated people have learnt the power of self-control and do not become intoxicated, many still consume more than is physiologically good for them.

Our coloured brethren, who seem to have been intended by Nature for a more vegetarian diet, seldom enlivened by alcohol, take to strong drinks with avidity, lose their higher control at once, and yield without a struggle to the poisonous effects of alcohol. For these, as for all children and for intemperate northerners, only one doctrine can be preached—absolute teetotalism.

Education all over the Empire has done much in the last fifty years to diminish drinking habits, but the custom of taking alcohol on an empty stomach is still far too prevalent among men in Canada, South Africa, and elsewhere, where the wholesome check of public opinion is not so strongly pronounced as in these islands. It is

done either as a conventional habit or to encourage an appetite, but whatever the excuse, the effect on the digestive system is bad, and it tends towards alcoholic excess. Those who live in cold climates are justified, if they like it, in taking some alcohol with every meal, but in the tropics it is better to abstain from it until the evening repast. It adds to the causes of irritability and predisposes towards liver disease and sunstroke. It is not a tonic, it is an imperfect food, a very temporary stimulant, an unsatisfactory sedative, and although a useful medicine, it is the worst of masters.

As regards quantity, it is usually stated that the amount which can be completely oxidized in the body in one day varies from one to one and a half fluid ounces of absolute alcohol, say, one or two whiskies and sodas, or two or three glasses of strong wine, or a tumblerful of any weaker wine, or one imperial pint of bottled beer per day.

At the same time it is necessary to remember in hot countries that the system requires a plentiful supply of liquid when rapid evaporation from the skin is taking place. A man in the tropics should therefore be encouraged to drink freely, but he should be reminded that there are many excellent non-alcoholic drinks.

Tuberculosis is world-wide, causing in some communities from one-sixth to one-twelfth of the deaths from all causes. Of the various forms of this disease tubercle of the lungs is by far the most deadly. A terrible toll in tuberculosis is paid every year in India, Australia, South and West Africa, Canada, and the West Indies, and though, in the case of the European, the disease, if taken in time, may be arrested or even cured, the coloured races succumb fatally and rapidly. Tuberculosis.

The infective nature of the bacillus in dried sputum has been fully recognized since 1882, and wherever there is an accumulation of dust and refuse from human dwellings the bacillus is likely to be present. Overcrowding and deficient ventilation, which are the chief predisposing factors, have not yet vanished before the gospel of fresh air.

While ignorance of the infectivity of the disease led to its spread in past generations, the fear of it among contacts now causes an unnecessary amount of suffering to the patient in many instances. Panic will not avail; it must be remembered that the consumptive person is almost harmless in himself and only becomes dangerous to others through bad habits, which he should be compelled to discontinue. If every one lived in an abundance of fresh air by day and by night, the disease could be eradicated. Until that time comes, education, notification, improved housing, with windows open day and night, will accomplish much, provided that early cases are educated in a sanatorium and taught how to avoid endangering the lives of others, while late cases and their sputa should be treated in a way to prevent their being a source of infection to the healthy. The poorest should be able to get an unlimited supply of fresh air for nothing, and they must be educated to look upon it as their most valuable birth-right. Above all, they must be emancipated from the old superstition, which dates from malarial days, that night air is injurious.

Enteric.

Enteric fever, often under other names, such as typhoid fever, has been well known for a century as a constant danger to Europeans in almost every part of the world, and as one of the most frequent diseases which war brings in its train. It is the common continued fever of all temperate countries. Unlike alcoholism, tuberculosis, pneumonia, and plague, to which native races seem to offer little resistance, enteric fever exhibits a marked susceptibility for Europeans. It was even doubted at one time whether the natives of China, India, and Egypt were not insusceptible, but to-day we know that all races are capable of suffering from it, though all are not equally liable to its attacks. Like two very different complaints, cancer and appendicitis, it seems to spare the savage until he comes in contact with civilization.

The enteric fever bacillus is spread from the sick to the healthy by means of infected water, ice, milk, uncooked food, dust, flies, shell-fish, and clothing. Several

mysterious outbreaks, not apparently due to any such causes, have been traced of late years to 'typhoid carriers', individuals who had completely recovered from their attack and yet remained a source of danger to others by harbouring the bacillus.

In order to reduce the chances of infection for the newcomer it is wise now to inoculate travellers and emigrants to insanitary countries before they leave England. Two such anti-typhoid vaccinations must be made with an interval of ten days, and some degree of protection is thus afforded for the first two or three years, while the individual is still specially susceptible and has not learnt the best means of protecting himself against infection.

Voluntary anti-typhoid vaccination is gaining in popularity in the British Army, especially in India, and interesting statistics are gradually coming to hand. As one illustration, it may be stated that an English cavalry regiment landed in India 593 strong; 127 men were twice inoculated and no cases of enteric fever occurred among them; 23 were only inoculated once and furnished two cases of that disease; the remaining 443 declined to be inoculated, and among them 61 contracted enteric fever.

This is a very important question because it is calculated that 82 per cent. of Europeans are attacked by enteric fever within three years of reaching India. It has been estimated that this disease alone in India was responsible for an annual loss of £230,000.

Diphtheria. Diphtheria is another world-wide disorder of temperate zones, but the mortality has been greatly reduced since the introduction of antitoxin inoculations, which should always be used early, even before an accurate diagnosis is possible, in any suspicious case of throat infection. The disease is sometimes spread by milk, it is certainly connected with insanitation, and is mainly a disorder of childhood, though adults often suffer from it.

A plentiful supply of antitoxin should be kept for emergency use, and in a well-ordered State it may be considered justifiable to dispense it gratuitously, and also

to charge no fee for the bacteriological examination of swabs taken from the suspected throats. It is more important to the community than to the sufferer that he should not spread the disease.

Out of many instances showing the value of antitoxin, one may be quoted from a children's hospital in Berlin. In the pre-antitoxin era, 1890–4, there were treated 1,287 cases of diphtheria, of which 529, or 41·1 per cent., died. The antitoxin treatment began on March 15, 1894, and in the succeeding twelve months 525 cases were treated with it, of which 83, or 15·6 per cent., died. Unfortunately, during five months in 1895 no antitoxin could be obtained ; 126 cases of diphtheria were admitted to the hospital, of which 61, or 48·4 per cent., died. Antitoxin was then again obtained and the death-rate again fell. London experience is similar, for in the fever hospitals of the Metropolitan Asylums Board the mortality, which used to be 30·25 per cent. (11,704 patients treated between 1888 and 1894), has gradually fallen to 9·29 per cent.

Antitoxin has been used not only as a curative treatment but, especially in the United States, as a preventive remedy. If, for instance, in a school where more than one case has occurred, or in a family where even one case has arisen, it is wise to inject each child who has been exposed to infection with a small dose of antitoxin.

Diseases with which our Tropical Possessions are chiefly concerned

Historical. Until the last quarter of the nineteenth century it was universally held that the tropics, by reason of their proximity to the equator, were unhealthy for the white man, and that it was the heat by day and by night which was chiefly responsible for the fevers and other illnesses to which he was liable. Every one knew that life in the tropics meant exposure to risks unknown at home, but until the scientific awakening of modern times no one believed that most of the diseases of a hot climate, when not induced by obstinate errors connected with clothing, food, and drink, reached man by means of insects or worms.

The foundation of our knowledge of tropical medicine and how to make the tropics habitable for the white man was laid when it was realized that parasites cause disease. When Patrick Manson, an unknown medical officer in Amoy, began publishing, in 1872, a series of papers on the *filaria* worm, no one dreamt that this was the first step towards solving the problems of life in the tropics. Yet his discoveries of the different phases of development of filaria embryos in the mosquito and the connexion between this worm and elephantiasis, laid a train of events of which no one can now foresee the ultimate conclusion. Parasites causing disease.

The development of the mosquito-malaria theory, so successfully worked out by Sir Ronald Ross, the unearthing from official pigeon-holes of the almost forgotten theory that yellow-fever was conveyed to man by a mosquito, the proof that dengue fever is also transmitted by one or two kinds of mosquitoes, all followed on rapidly in natural sequence. But these epoch-making discoveries would not have been possible if it had not been for the simultaneous development of the microscope. Until the nineteenth century 'Nature had kept over all her inner workshops the forbidding inscription, "No Admittance"' (O. W. Holmes). The perfection of the microscope has given us new eyes to admit us into many of her minute and intricate workings.

Another great factor in the growth of knowledge of tropical diseases has been the progress of bacteriology and its younger sister, protozoology. Priestly prophets in mediaeval times had often suspected that diseases were due to minute living organisms in the blood, but the world had to wait till the decade beginning in 1879 for the dread diseases, leprosy, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, cholera, tetanus, and Malta fever to yield up the secrets of their bacterial nature.

The American Government, encouraged by our working knowledge of the prevention of three rampant diseases, malaria, dysentery, and yellow fever, decided to stamp them out in the Isthmus of Panama, and has given us Prevention of disease in Panama Canal zone.

a marvellous instance of what effective sanitary organization can accomplish if backed by money and executive control. In 1881 Ferdinand de Lesseps tried to realize the dream of navigators and engineers by beginning to cut the Panama Canal. Fevers proved to be the chief obstacle, and in 1885 the mortality among the employés reached the appalling maximum of 176·9 per 1,000, while the sick-rate, aided by financial disasters, brought the work to an end. When, in 1904, the United States determined to complete the abandoned canal, the death-rate was still as high as 71 per 1,000. Six years later Surgeon-General Gorgas had gradually reduced this mortality to 21·1 per 1,000, and the health rate of the district is now more satisfactory than that of New York.

There are still many tropical diseases which have not yet disgorged their final secrets, but much good work has been done by the Tropical Schools, among which those inaugurated in 1899 in London and Liverpool have taken no unimportant share.

Nearly all the tropical world has been appropriated by white races, and the white man's burden is to administer his trust, remembering that the responsibility of empire has been the making of his race. Britain's burden of tropical races is six times greater than the combined tropical population of France, Germany, and the United States. In Asia we are responsible for nearly 300 millions, in Africa for 30 millions, and in the Pacific for more than one million people.

Health administration.

Past experience, often painful, has proved to us that the satisfactory prevention and treatment of diseases require above all things an effective administration, in order to achieve the best possible results at the least possible cost to the community. The first essential is that hygiene shall have a representative on the supreme governing body of a country or a municipality. Sanitation implies continual war, and it is important to give to the head of a public health department similar rank to the individual responsible for the military forces. He should control sanitary engineering work, for most of us know

of instances where vast sums of money have been expended on water-supply or drainage without previous consultation with the sanitary authority. The general public still regards the medical profession as a useful curative agent of individuals, and fails to recognize its value in preventing the diseases of the whole population.

Local epidemics must be controlled, if necessary, by expert officers from head-quarters of thorough modern knowledge of the sanitation and epidemiology of the locality. The working force of defence against the enemy must be provided on the spot, and it must be remembered that a health officer by himself is powerless. In 1884 a young Englishman was appointed to the head of the public health department of an Oriental country, just emancipated from cholera, and was told by his English official chief to ' sweep up the country ' ; on inquiry he found that the government had no sweepers, no brooms, and no money to procure them !

Effects in India.

In the tropics Western ideas of hygiene are a modern importation, not yet assimilated as part of the national life ; without European energy and control all sanitation would disappear in a few years, though every generation of inhabitants which has come under educative influence is a little less insanitary than its predecessor. Even in India, where health progress is impeded by financial circumstances and by the masterly inactivity of an enormous population, there has been an extraordinary improvement in the general health and consequent reduction of the death-rate as evidenced to some extent by the statistics of our two armies. In 1880 the mortality of the British troops in India was 24·85 per 1,000 ; this number gradually fell to 4·89 in the year 1911. The Indian troops in 1880 had a death-rate of 39·22 per 1,000, which was reduced year by year till 1911, when it was only 4·48. This mortality rate has been diminished by precautionary measures against such preventable diseases as cholera, enteric fever, and dysentery, which still prevail at times in the villages surrounding the military cantonments.

To take cholera alone, nearly every year in the nineteenth century saw at certain seasons explosive epidemics among the troops due to specific contamination of the water-supplies. Yet in the years 1910 and 1911 the death-rate from cholera in both British and Indian troops was only about *one per ten thousand*. This result has been achieved in a country where, in the year 1869, one British regiment lost a third of its total strength from cholera.

In spite of the fact that in all tropical countries the problems of preventive medicine are more difficult than in temperate climates, much good work has been done in the direction of stamping out human disease, and this may be gathered from the following brief summary of the chief tropical scourges.

Malaria.

It is impossible not to begin with malaria, because of its antiquity, its prevalence, and its successful obliteration in those parts of the world where the human male is as nimble-witted as the female gnat. Malaria, still often called ague or jungle-fever, or 'fever of the country', is perhaps the most important of all diseases which attack man. In India alone, where the mosquito has so far been allowed too untroubled a life, it is calculated that the annual death-rate from malaria equals the population of a great city.

When Professor Laveran, in 1880, then an obscure army surgeon in Algiers, first saw, by the aid of an indifferent microscope, the living malarial parasite in a red corpuscle of human blood, he elevated malaria out of empirical darkness and made it easy for us all to learn why quinine is the specific remedy. Laveran's parasites were shown by Sir Patrick Manson to Sir Ronald Ross in 1894, and the latter, on his return to India, determined to work out the whole subject thoroughly, and to test the theory as to whether any kind of mosquito were concerned in the transmission of malaria. His first experiments were unsuccessful, and his work was twice interrupted for long periods by the exigencies of the Indian Medical Service. But in 1898, by means of experiments on sparrows, he succeeded in ascertaining the development

of Laveran's parasites in the mosquito, and, by analogy, the method of infection in human beings.

The following year, in Sierra Leone, he was able to prove that the parasites of human malarial fever all develop in Anopheline mosquitoes. That malaria is conveyed to men by these mosquitoes and by no other method, was a fact which was gradually accepted by the scientific world, and, in confirming the work, Professor Koch and many Italian and English scientists were able to contribute several additional items of knowledge.

The great truth became evident that mosquito reduction must lead to diminished malaria, but it proved difficult to persuade any government to spend money on this new method of attacking the disease. In 1901 a half-hearted attempt to destroy mosquitoes was made in Freetown, the capital of Sierra Leone, long known as 'the white man's grave', and in 1902 Sir Ronald Ross was invited to proceed to Ismailia on the Suez Canal to advise generally as to whether the malaria there could be reduced or abolished.

Malaria in Egypt.

Modern Egypt is hardly a malarious country, but the three towns on the Suez Canal were exceptions to this rule, and the erroneous theory used to be held that the prevalence of malaria in them was occasioned by the mixture of sea-water with the fresh-water, which is brought to the towns by a canal from the Nile at Cairo. Ismailia, soon after its creation by De Lesseps, swarmed with mosquitoes, both non-malaria-bearing Culicines and the malarial Anophelines, but within a year of the arrival of Sir Ronald Ross both groups of insects were almost entirely exterminated, and the malaria admissions to the hospital were reduced from an average of 1,842 to 214 per year. Since then epidemic malaria in the sleepy little town of Ismailia has entirely disappeared, and the inhabitants are able to dispense with the use of mosquito-nets at night.

Destruction of mosquitoes.

To bring this about three measures were adopted: (1) shallow pools and puddles, which served as mosquito breeding-places, were filled up, (2) the cesspools under the

houses were treated once a week by pouring into them a little petroleum to suffocate the mosquito larvae which depend on air, though living in water, (3) a marsh, which had been formed by leakage from the Freshwater Canal, harboured mosquitoes, and had to be filled. The initial expense of these works was only £2,000, and to this must be added the annual cost which amounts to less than two shillings per head of the population per year. The constant work, which must never be neglected, is performed by a European with two natives. Their duties are to visit every house once a week and to pour petroleum into the cesspools, also to prevent any stagnant water in gardens, water-vessels, tubs, and flower vases. The residents are fined if they are obstructive.

Khartoum, the capital of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, has been rid of mosquitoes by similar methods under the control of Dr. Andrew Balfour, and from being a hotbed of malaria, it is now free from the disease, and the inhabitants have no need of mosquito-nets to protect them from irritating bites. In Khartoum and some other places the introduction of fish has been found useful, because they devour the mosquito larvae in lakes or pools which cannot be drained.

Anti-malarial operations in Malay States.

Dr. Malcolm Watson's brilliant campaign, begun in 1901, in the Federated Malay States, has encouraged others in many tropical countries to try to exterminate mosquitoes and malaria. Chiefly by draining swamps and felling jungle, he reduced the death-rate of the two principal towns, Klang and Port Swettenham, from 368 in 1901 to 59 in the following year, though the mortality of the neighbouring districts, where no anti-malarial operations had been begun, remained as high as before. Previous to his labours, the whole population was demoralized, freshly-imported coolies deserted, and out of 176 government employés 118 were attacked by malaria between September and December.

The instances given are enough to show that this disease can be successfully fought, provided that energy is present, that money is spent, and that the European in charge of

the campaign resists every temptation to become weary of well-doing.

But a successful campaign against malaria includes, in addition to general measures, a great deal of personal prevention, and also the destruction of the malarial parasites in the human blood, which can most easily be achieved by the preventive use of quinine, because the drug then comes into contact with the parasites when they are young and can offer but little resistance. The personal prevention of malaria includes the nightly use of a mosquito-net in the house, unless the bedroom windows and doors are thoroughly screened by wire gauze, and the net must always be used when travelling. The net should consist of ten holes to the linear inch, so as to prevent ingress of insects, and also to allow as much air as possible to circulate ; jealous care must be taken to see that there are no rents in it, that there are no mosquitoes within it, and that it is tightly tucked under the mattress. A net which allows insects to bite the sleeper through it is useless. General preventive measures.

The next point is to protect the man from bites between sunset and his bedtime, when the female mosquitoes are specially ravenous. An ideal house has a balcony screened by wire gauze, and, failing that, punkahs and electric fans will produce a mild draught, which the gnats will not tolerate ; and citronella oil or lavender oil, which they dislike, can be smeared on to the face and hands. Gloves, stockings, and long boots protect to some extent while camping. European houses should have no native huts in close proximity. Less important than these precautions is the daily dose of 5 grains of the bihydrochloride or the bisulphate of quinine, but this must never be regarded as a substitute for mosquito screening.

The following relative figures show this at a glance : When there is no protection at all 33 per cent. become infected by malaria ; if quinine prevention alone is trusted, 20 per cent. ; when reliance is placed on mosquito prevention only, 2·5 per cent. ; when mosquito and quinine prevention are employed the percentage of infected falls to 1·75 or less. Those who cannot or will not take regular

prophylactic quinine are unsuited for life in a malarious country.

Black-water fever.

Blackwater fever, or haemoglobinuric fever, is usually placed under a separate heading, because it is believed by some experts to be a specific disease, for which some definite micro-organism will some day be discovered. But most scientists regard it as the haemorrhagic form of pernicious malaria, and believe that the laws for its prevention are similar. It is common in many parts of Africa, and may occur sporadically in England or any other northern country in an individual who has recently returned from a malarious locality. It is, however, a disease which never *originates* in a cold country. Many malarious countries, such as most parts of India, are free from blackwater fever, but the geographical distribution of *intense* pernicious malaria is similar to that of blackwater fever.

The mortality of this disease is much higher than that of malaria; for instance, the death-rate from malaria in 1,800 cases among German troops in Africa was 0·4 per cent., but 147 cases of blackwater fever among the same soldiers gave a mortality of 25 per cent., or more than sixty times greater.

Most patients give the history of having neglected many mild attacks of malaria, of having taken quinine but intermittently, and at last having taken a large dose of it after previous abstention. The poisonous effects of quinine under these imprudent circumstances have given rise to the unfortunate theory that quinine causes blackwater fever. It should rather be preached that it is the absence or irregularity of quinine consumption which is responsible for the attack. After an attack, or when one seems to be impending, quinine must be recommenced with great caution, say, 1 grain three times a day, and gradually increased, so that the patient may slowly be re-educated to withstand the drug.

A European should always be invalided home after an attack, and if he should be unfortunate enough, in spite of all proper precautions, to be attacked a second time,

he should not be allowed to return to a malarious country.

It is a popular error to suppose that African natives never suffer from malaria nor blackwater fever. Englishmen are occasionally, but very rarely, encountered who cannot take any dose of quinine without being poisoned by it; the only way to guard against this idiosyncrasy is to administer an experimental dose of 10 grains to any recruit before he leaves England for the tropics.

Dysentery is another disease of great antiquity and of almost world-wide prevalence. Often linked in unholy partnership with malaria, the two have been for centuries among the deadliest foes of man and have thrust him out of many a fair Garden of Eden. A century ago both were among the common complaints of the British Isles; the one was banished by drainage operations for agriculture, while the other was vanquished by a pure water-supply. Surely it does not pass the wit of man to conceive a day when both these enemies to the human race shall be obliterated in our tropical possessions. Dysentery.

Dysentery is endemic in India and many other countries where the natives drink and bathe in the polluted water of tanks and streams. It is especially prevalent after rains, when the surface impurities are washed into the water-supply.

There are many varieties of dysentery, but we have learnt now to distinguish two chief forms, one of which is due to amoebae, which are micro-organisms capable of performing movements both of change of form and place; they enter the human body with water or uncooked vegetables and sometimes produce abscess of the liver as a sequel to the dysentery. This form used to be treated by large and continued doses of ipecacuanha, but since 1912 this method has been superseded by intramuscular injections of emetine, which is an alkaloid of that drug, and can be made to cure the disease without unpleasant results. It is even hoped that when emetine comes to be universally employed, liver complications will be greatly lessened.

The other well-known form of dysentery is due to bacilli, which are conveyed to food or drink by the agency of flies, or by direct contact with some contaminated substance. Emetine is useless here, but serum treatment in large doses has met with great success.

Dysentery is often conveyed from one country to another by individuals who believe themselves to be cured, but still harbour the infective agent and are therefore a danger to the community. It is not an uncommon thing to meet, in London, patients with no dysenteric symptoms who are still ' dysentery carriers '. This points to the obvious importance of not dismissing patients from hospital until it is quite certain that they are thoroughly cured.

Cholera.

Cholera is a communicable disease peculiar to man, which prevails endemically in the delta of the Ganges in Lower Bengal, and in some other parts of India, and is occasionally diffused epidemically through the world, when its average death-rate is about one-half of those attacked.

Other diseases due to the entrance of another bacillus must be distinguished from true cholera, though they are sometimes called ' summer cholera ' or ' cholera of children '.

During the nineteenth century there were seven distinct invasions of Europe, usually starting from Bengal to other provinces of India, thence being carried by man to other countries, including Mecca, where about 100,000 Mussulman pilgrims assemble every year. The returning pilgrims have often carried the disease to Egypt and Turkey, from which countries travellers have transported it across the Mediterranean to Europe. It also appeared in this continent during the Balkan war in November 1912, when Turkish troops conveyed it from Asia to Constantinople and its neighbourhood. When Adrianople capitulated in the spring of 1913, cholera was present in the Turkish garrison and extended to the Bulgarian captors ; an epidemic during the summer followed in the Balkan States, Greece, and Hungary.

A great epidemic occurred in 1908, when there are said to have been 20,000 deaths in the Hejaz, and the disease, taken home by Russian pilgrims, caused 12,000 deaths in Russia. In the same year the cholera deaths in India reached 600,000, while China lost 30,000, and the Philippines registered 19,000 deaths.

It was formerly thought that cholera moved in some mysterious unknown way, and for years it was believed that it was an air-borne disease. But it is now known that it cannot travel more quickly than man, that it is communicated from one human being to another like enteric fever, by water or food directly contaminated by a cholera patient or by infected flies.

As in other diseases, there are individuals who seem to be insusceptible ; on one occasion nineteen people drank some water which had been accidentally polluted by cholera, yet only five of them contracted the malady. The highest mortality is not met with in the regions where cholera is endemic, and this leads one to believe that residents in endemic areas occasionally gain some immunity.

During the cholera epidemic in Alexandria in 1883 Koch discovered the true cause of the disease, a vibrio in the alimentary canal, which, from its likeness to a German comma, he called the Comma bacillus. During the following year he found similar bacilli in cholera cases in India and France, his brilliant observations were confirmed by other workers and the sceptics were gradually silenced. The bacillus, when present, is spread during any great concourse of people, especially if the ordinary laws of European cleanliness are entirely forgotten. Highly dangerous are religious fairs, such as the festival at the Jaganath temple at Puri in the Orissa Province of Bengal, which is sometimes attended by 100,000 devotees. In 1899, in the town of Puri alone, there were 1,216 cases of cholera, with 1,020 deaths, so that it was difficult for the authorities to dispose of the dead. Panic naturally ensued and the pilgrims on their flight homewards spread the disease all over the district.

As in enteric fever and dysentery, we have now learnt to be on the look out for 'cholera carriers' among individuals who are apparently cured but remain capable of spreading the disease. A typical instance of this, reported from India, may be cited: A cholera patient was discharged from hospital, cured of all symptoms, in July 1912; he was arrested by the police for some criminal offence on the 23rd of the same month and sent to prison; within a few days of his imprisonment 17 cases of cholera occurred in his prison, including five deaths, and it was noticed that the first prisoner attacked was in the same ward as the new arrival. The latter was then bacteriologically examined and was found still to be infectious, more than three weeks after the onset of his attack of cholera.

One of the dangers of pilgrims returning from the holy places of Islam is that they take home with them bottles of water from the sacred Zem-zem well, which is traditionally associated with the miraculous spring which saved Hagar and Ishmael from thirst in the desert. This well is so polluted by sewage that the water has become a dangerous ally of cholera.

Treatment and measures against cholera.

The medical treatment of cholera used to be chiefly that of endeavouring to alleviate the prominent symptoms, but since 1908 Professor Leonard Rogers of Calcutta has succeeded in reducing his hospital death-rate from 60 per cent. to 17 per cent., or even less. His methods have been universally adopted in India, and have been found of equal value in other countries.

To prevent the disease several attempts have been made to produce a cholera vaccine, of which Kolle's method seems to be the best. Its good effects last for a year, it reduces considerably the number of persons infected, and the inoculated in Japan who contracted cholera had milder symptoms than the uninoculated.

For personal and domestic prevention during an epidemic it is necessary to boil all drinking water. This is safer than any filter, for even in the finest grade porcelain filters bacilli grow through the pores, unless the component

parts of the filter are frequently boiled. It is important in a household not to trust any filter and not to confide the boiling process to a native servant. Charcoal and sand filters are positively dangerous ; they give a false feeling of security and may at the same time spread cholera. This happened to an English regiment at Lucknow in 1894.

Besides being conveyed in water, cholera has been carried by ice, ice creams, milk, butter, vegetables, salad, and fruit. House servants can be kept under control, with the exception of the cook, who usually goes every day to the market to buy food. As a useful precaution he should be made to wash his hands with soap, nail brush, and sublimate lotion (1/1000) every morning upon his return from market. This is all the more necessary when the cook has been sleeping at home, and may have been nursing a choleraic relative all night.

Municipal regulations must be chiefly directed towards preventing any contamination of the water-supply, including the goat-skins and carts of water carriers, inspecting cow sheds, distributing gratuitously medicines for diarrhoea, isolating the sick, and disinfecting and controlling the removal of the corpses.

Yellow fever.

Yellow fever is a name which, for at least three centuries, has struck terror into the hearts of those visiting the tropical shores of the Atlantic Ocean. In 1840, in Georgetown, Demerara, in the space of a few months, 69 per cent. of all the white troops perished, and it is reported that almost every case admitted to the military hospital during the epidemic ' became yellow fever, no matter what the ailment on admission ; and it ultimately became such a terror to the soldiers that the utmost difficulty was experienced in persuading them to enter it when sick '. Surgeon-General Blair's official report also states that this hospital was close to a marsh and ' clouds of mosquitoes '.

In 1853 Dr. L. D. Beauperthuy earned the title of the father of the doctrine of insect-borne disease, by writing from Venezuela to Paris to maintain that both yellow fever and malarial fevers were caused by some poison

conveyed by the proboscis of the mosquito. But his contention fell on deaf ears and his theory was completely forgotten.

The foundation-stone of exact yellow fever prevention was laid in 1900, when four American army surgeons were sent to Cuba to study the disease. In order to test the mosquito theory they allowed themselves to be bitten by mosquitoes, three of them contracted yellow fever, and one of them (Dr. Lazear) died of it. Other expeditions were sent from England and France to confirm this new discovery, and Dr. Walter Myers became another victim in the cause of science and humanity.

Though no certain micro-organism has yet been accepted as the cause of the disease, the new doctrine swept away for ever the traditional views as to the nature and origin and prevention of ' yellow jack '.

The Americans discovered that the blood of the patient only contained the virus about five days after having been infected by a mosquito ; that if the patient were bitten by one particular kind of mosquito (*Stegomyia calopus*), that mosquito, after a latent period of twelve days, became itself infected and was capable of transmitting yellow fever to man. Only this one species of mosquito is convicted of being the insect carrier or transmitting agent of the disease. Infected patients must therefore be carefully screened to prevent healthy mosquitoes from becoming infected and spreading yellow fever. Constant war, by destruction of breeding-places, screening, and fumigation, must be waged against the insect, which is a common domestic mosquito, and therefore prevalent in towns. It is sometimes called the ' tiger mosquito ' ; it breeds in cisterns or humbler water receptacles ; only the females suck the blood, but they take their meals from man by day as well as by night. The insect can live for a month and lay seven batches of eggs.

Anxiety need not be felt as to the possible spread of yellow fever in Asia by the piercing of the Panama Canal, so long as the sanitary organization of the canal zone remains effective. In 1913 the Colonial Office sent four

medical men to West Africa to try and determine whether yellow fever is endemic there or not.

Dengue is another mosquito-borne fever, which used to be considered directly contagious from man to man. It seldom causes death, but it may incapacitate a patient for weeks, and the epidemics spread, like influenza, through a community. In 1895, out of a population of 65,000 in Charlestown, South Carolina, dengue attacked 50,000, and in 1905 the law courts in Brisbane had to be closed because the judges were all laid low by this malady. Dengue.

For more than a century it was known to be a fever confined to coast towns and river valleys in hot countries, to disappear on the onset of cold weather and to be absent at high altitudes, but we were too blind to see that its geographical distribution coincided with that of *Culex fatigans*, a common tropical mosquito. But in 1902 Dr. Graham reported from Beirut, Syria, that he had infected healthy volunteers by the bites of this mosquito, which had been allowed to feed upon a dengue patient. He also caused a typical attack of the disease by injecting subcutaneously a solution, in normal saline fluid, from the salivary glands of an infected mosquito. Dr. Ashburn and Dr. Craig, in 1907, confirmed the mosquito transmission in the Philippines, and proved that dengue could not be conveyed by air or clothes without the intervention of mosquitoes. They treated 400 cases in the general wards of a hospital, carefully screened to prevent the entry of mosquitoes, and no fresh cases developed among the other patients.

There are many historical instances of an outbreak of dengue preceding the appearance of yellow fever in a town. This ceases to be remarkable when we know that both fevers are mosquito-borne.

Any tropical community can now protect itself against the continuance of four diseases, filariasis (including elephantiasis), malaria, yellow fever, and dengue, provided that all mosquitoes are exterminated, that no new ones are allowed to develop, and that importation is prevented.

Dengue has many points of similarity with influenza, but the two diseases are quite different. On the other hand, the Seven Day Fever of Calcutta and of Panama is apparently a variety of dengue.

Bubonic plague.

Bubonic plague, for the fourth time in the history of man, has, since 1894, spread over most parts of the civilized tropical world. Little or no attention was paid to seven known endemic centres of plague, mostly in Asia, until the disease spread from the Yunnan province of China, which borders Tibet and Burma, to Canton and Hong Kong, and thus began the widespread epidemic from which the world, after a score of years, is still suffering.

When plague reached the city of Bombay in 1896, but little attention was paid to it until the death-rate rose alarmingly. Indifference yielded to consternation and panic; the management of the epidemic was taken out of medical hands and placed in those of the army and police.

At the risk of being considered ungenerous it is useful to recall this episode, which it is to be hoped will never be repeated. The soldiers' rule was a short one, for riots arose, and indignant natives could not forgive the violation of the sanctity of their houses. The plague was not stayed, and for a time all preventive measures had to be abandoned. We hasten to add that in spite of this disastrous beginning, we are now beholden to Indian medical officers for some of the most valuable items of scientific knowledge about plague.

Since the days of the prophet Samuel rats and mice were known to mar the land during some plague epidemics, and multitudes of them were destroyed during the Great Plague of London in 1665; but it was not until a Japanese discovered the plague bacillus in Hong Kong in 1894, that the true relationship of plague in rats, squirrels, marmots, and some other rodents, with plague in man could be established. Millions of rats have since been destroyed without much affecting their number, and the theory was eventually mooted in Australia that both rats and men were infected by the flea.

The work of the second Plague Commission in India, appointed in 1907, definitely proved that bubonic plague was another insect-borne disease. In April of that year the deaths from plague in India were officially returned as 314,000, which means that more than seven human beings died every minute during that fatal month.

Several kinds of fleas infesting rats are the carriers of bubonic plague, and we are now able to understand how the disease has often been conveyed by ships, cargo, and clothing.

The mortality from the disease varies from 20 per cent. in a well arranged European hospital, to 60 per cent. or more among natives in their own houses. The seasonal variation of plague depends chiefly upon the prevalence of fleas, for these insects dislike very cold and very hot weather.

Haffkine's plague vaccine has been found to give good results in India and other countries, and one inoculation seems to protect an individual for about six months. The usual chemical disinfectants are powerless to destroy fleas, but they can be discovered in an infected empty house by introducing guinea-pigs, which, after twenty-four hours, are found to be swarming with fleas containing the plague bacillus.

The flea population of an Oriental village can be imagined from the reports of the Commission. In one room in India, in which dead rats had been found and plague cases had occurred among human beings, 263 fleas were secured.

In India alone, since 1896, plague has killed more than seven million people.

Pneumonic plague

Pneumonic plague is really a form of septicaemic or generalized plague, in which the lungs are chiefly affected. It is spread directly from man to man by bacilli in the air, and the mortality is so high that in Manchuria, where there were, in 1910–11, some 43,000 cases, there were only three recoveries. To prevent infection, masks must be used by all who have to deal with this virulent form of plague, which is independent of rats and fleas.

Typhus and relapsing fevers.

Typhus and relapsing fevers, often raging hand-in-hand, are now practically banished from the British Isles and some other parts of Europe by improved hygiene, but they still cling obstinately to some endemic areas in India, Egypt, and elsewhere. Both fevers are encouraged by overcrowding and deficiency of ventilation.

Of typhus, formerly called ' prison fever ', the micro-organism has not yet been discovered, but increasing evidence tends to incriminate the bug (and possibly the louse) as the carrier of the disease from man to man. Bugs live in wooden floors, beds, and furniture, and also make their nests in walls, and, like true vampires, nightly feed only on blood. Painted iron bedsteads are specially necessary for prisons, barracks, and hospitals, and they should be easily taken to pieces to be washed. Acetic acid, camphor, and carbolic acid are the most useful chemicals for destroying bugs.

There are at least five kinds of relapsing fevers, caused by a spirochete in the blood, which is carried from the sick to the healthy by lice or bugs ; but the African variety, which often attacks Europeans, is conveyed to them by a tick, and is famous for the great number of relapses which sometimes occur in its course ; some unfortunate patients having as many as nine relapses. The best method of prevention is to avoid domestic vermin, which means that native huts, bedding which has been in the charge of a native caretaker, and old camping-grounds must be shunned. The mosquito net is some protection from ticks at night. The modern treatment of all relapsing fevers is by salvarsan or neo-salvarsan, which prevent the occurrence of relapses in nearly all instances. Quinine is of no value in such fevers.

Kala-azar.

Kala-azar (black fever) is a fatal disease, endemic in India and some parts of Africa, known since 1903 to be caused by a parasite named after its discoverers, *Leishmania donovani*, which is apparently introduced into the human body by a variety of bug. This disease probably comprises many deaths which used to be thought due to chronic malaria.

We must now consider another disease, sleeping sickness, for which human trypanosomiasis is a better name. Sleeping sickness.

When man had wrested from Nature the secret of the microscopical origin of certain diseases and had, as in the case of yellow fever, malaria, and plague, succeeded in crowning that knowledge by his ability to conquer these deadly foes, it seemed almost as if he could assume power over all such tropical enemies and that, with energy and patience, he might indeed ' bid the sickness cease ', to open out the waste places of the earth for the industry of man. But we are faced with a newer problem, a scourge which at present defies our best endeavours and brings home to us the consciousness of human weakness when it is pitted against the vast strength of natural forces.

When Uganda was taken over by the British East Africa Company it promised to be a land of plenty, and the administrators spared neither money nor energy in establishing a good rule, in the belief that the country would support a populous and thriving people. But in 1901 reports reached the Foreign Office from H.M. Commissioner in Uganda that a widespread and disastrous epidemic of sleeping sickness had broken out in Busoga, a district lying on the shores of Lake Albert Nyanza. It was then estimated that 20,000 people were already dead or dying of it in that district. This disease had been known to African travellers for 150 years, but its ravages had been confined to the West Coast, where it was endemic, and where its cause and its treatment were little understood. It has acquired its popular name from one of the most prominent symptoms of the last stage of the disease ; it is an infectious illness, generally of a long-continued, chronic nature, though occasionally it assumes an acute form, attacking chiefly the central nervous system.

For generations the disease seemed to remain within well-defined limits, chiefly on the shores of lakes and rivers, and when it spread it did so very slowly and always on the West Coast. But in that sparsely populated country there was little inter-communication between the various

districts, which were seldom on friendly terms with each other, and when a village became infected its isolation practically made of it a segregation camp and the disease was more or less arrested. But with the opening out of trade routes from the Congo basin and the increase of steamer traffic up the river and round the great lakes, the illness found every facility for spreading. Again, when Stanley recruited several hundred porters and soldiers and started up the Congo in 1887 on his difficult mission through darkest Africa for the relief of Emin Pasha, he unwittingly helped to convey the disease by living agents from infected districts to others where it had hitherto been unknown. When Emin had been found and brought to Zanzibar, a colony of imported soldiers remained behind in a district to the west of the Lake Albert Nyanza. From these soldiers a force was recruited in 1891 by Sir F. Lugard to import into Uganda. About 500 men, with their rabble of 7,000 wives, children, and followers, were ultimately brought to settle in Uganda and Busoga, and the theory is generally accepted that these settlers, many of whom originally came from the Congo, introduced the disease into this territory. By 1898 sleeping sickness had worked such havoc that in this district alone 200,000 people had died of it out of a population of 300,000. The disaster was so appalling and the nature of the disease so baffled the skill of the medical authorities, that the Foreign Office appealed to the Royal Society to send out a Commission to investigate the causes of the outbreak. The Commission began its labours in 1902, and was joined later by Colonel, now Sir David, Bruce. Bruce had, seven years earlier, demonstrated in the most masterly manner the origin of *nagana*, a disease which infests the cattle of Africa, proving that it was due to trypanosomes in the blood of the infected animals, and that the trypanosome is conveyed from wild game to domestic animals by the bite of the tsetse fly.

Tsetse fly.

He now succeeded in proving that the trypanosomes which were found in the blood, neck-glands, and cerebro-spinal fluid of sleeping-sickness patients are the cause

of the disease, and that a species of the tsetse-fly, the *Glossina palpalis*, is the carrier of human trypanosomiasis, which is closely allied to the *nagana* of animals. It has since been proved that other tsetse-flies, whose distribution covers almost the whole of tropical Africa, are also implicated as carriers of these organisms. The flies haunt the places where man or animals congregate near water, they follow native carriers for hundreds of miles, they travel in boats, they infest railway carriages, and although they feed on the blood of almost all mammals they prefer human blood to any other. When these pests have fed on a sleeping-sickness patient, they are capable, for an unknown period, of conveying the trypanosomes to healthy people.

Measures against sleeping sickness.

Drastic measures have been taken to eradicate the scourge; whole villages have been moved away from the water beyond the fly areas; the shores have been cleared of underwood, where the flies breed, and cases of sleeping sickness have been diligently searched out and segregated in camps far removed from the haunts of the flies, while administrative stations have been placed along trade routes to check communication, whenever possible, from infected to non-infected areas. But here, as in all wars waged by the white man in the tropics for the good of the inhabitants, he encounters a passive resistance on the part of the native which constantly counteracts the measures laboriously carried out on his behalf. The African is quite apathetic about the bites of insects and their consequences, and he has no desire whatever to be helped to avoid them.

In spite of stringent measures, conscientiously carried out, the result has been disappointing, and the disconcerting discovery has now been made that the wild game of Africa can be the hosts of the parasite, and thus act as a perpetual reservoir from which the flies can get fresh infective material, although the game seems never to be in any way affected. It has been repeatedly suggested that the wild game in sleeping-sickness areas should be destroyed as the only thorough means of ridding the

country of a pest which is calculated to have destroyed far over a million people, but the British Government has so far been unwilling to authorize any such wholesale extermination of animals, which might be of future service to man, until it has been more satisfactorily proved that the game are the chief reservoir of the trypanosome.

Thus every fresh discovery tends to increase the complexity of the problem. Laboratory researches have shown that the flies, when once they have drawn infected blood, may remain infective for months; that at least two or three kinds of *Glossina* can convey the disease; and now we must assume that an inexhaustible supply of infective material can be drawn from wild game and also from domestic animals, which are known to be potential reservoirs because they can be so easily infected by experiment.

Several commissions and many individual workers are engaged in trying to solve the problems of this disease. Some have sacrificed their lives in the task and many have suffered in health, but the work continues in the steadfast belief that the difficulties can be mastered and that the solution can and will be found.

It is encouraging to turn from a record of temporary failure to one of the most brilliant triumphs of modern medicine.

Malta fever.

Malta or Mediterranean fever, which could more reasonably be re-christened 'goat's-milk fever', began to be recognized as a clinical entity about 1859, and is now known to be endemic in some districts of India, China, Africa, America, the Philippines, and the West Indies. It is therefore much more widely spread than its geographical name would signify. Patients suffering from this fever are often imported into Great Britain and other countries where the disease is otherwise unknown.

The prolonged duration of the temperature distinguishes it from all other fevers, for in severe cases the pyrexia may last for three or four months, and the convalescence may not be completed for two years. Though few cases

prove fatal, emaciation and great prostration are among the symptoms, and until 1905 an average of 624 of our soldiers and sailors were in hospital every year in Malta alone. About two-thirds of the officers and men had to be invalided to England, and the total number of days of illness amounted to 74,880 annually.

Since 1908 there have been either no cases or one single case per annum in the naval and military hospitals of Malta, though the disease continues among the Maltese civil population, because they are unwilling to profit by modern knowledge.

In 1886 Sir David Bruce discovered the parasite which is the true cause of the disease, but it was not until 1904 that a Commission was appointed to undertake a thorough investigation of what led to this great wastage of men. After three years' work it was proved that the 20,000 goats which supplied Malta with milk were the carriers of the infection ; half of those examined were affected by Malta fever and one-tenth of them were secreting and excreting the parasite in their milk. Abstention from milk, or the thorough boiling of infected goat's milk, protects from the disease.

The value of preventive medicine can, in this instance, be stated in commercial terms. The complete abolition of this one fever from the garrison of Malta, represents, if capitalized, an economy to the Government of about £1,500,000. This was achieved by the expenditure on research of about £5,000.

Meningitis.

Epidemic cerebro-spinal meningitis is an infectious disease caused by a parasite ; it has a high rate of mortality and is often conveyed from one country to another. For instance, the disease is carried nearly every year from Calcutta to the West Indian colonies by coolie ships. The mortality since 1906 has been diminished more than half by the use of serum treatment.

Sprue.

Sprue is well known to residents in China, India, Ceylon, and other parts of Asia as a very chronic affection of the alimentary canal. The cause is not yet known and therefore treatment is still in the empirical stage. Europeans

improve best when they are sent to their own country, but even there they require very careful expert treatment for at least a year.

Yaws. Yaws is an infectious and contagious eruptive disease of the tropics, caused by a spirochete, which was discovered in 1905. The disease may be accidentally inoculated and transferred from one place to another, such as from Fiji to Assam. The patients should therefore be isolated, and their unsightly sores can be cured by salvarsan.

Jiggers. The jigger insect (*Chigoe*) has been carried by man from South America to West Africa, across that continent to the east coast, and from Mombasa to Bombay. The female insect burrows into the skin of the host and sometimes causes such sores as to cripple a man or to necessitate the amputation of a toe or a leg. Prevention must include cleanliness of the house, adequate covering for the feet, and disinfection of floors, perhaps with a strong infusion of tobacco.

Ophthalmia. Granular ophthalmia is a curse in some parts of India, Egypt, and South Africa, and is conveyed to healthy children and others chiefly by the hands and clothing of those whose eyelids are discharging. Flies also carry the disease, which leads to many complications of the eyes and eyelids and often produces complete blindness.

This chapter cannot be concluded without a short notice of four of the principal worms which are liable to infest man in the tropics.

Worm diseases. Filariasis is a term which denotes infection by any species of filaria leading to troublesome complications, of which elephantiasis or 'Barbadoes leg' is the best known. In Fiji it is calculated that nearly every native is the subject of filariasis, due to the bites of mosquitoes. Those who escape elephantiasis suffer from abscesses or inflammation of lymphatic vessels in any part of the body. The epoch-making discovery of the agency of the mosquito has already been mentioned.

Bilharziasis denotes the human infection with a worm called *Schistosomum haematobium*, which was discovered

by Bilharz in Egypt in 1851. The disease is prevalent in many parts of Africa, and is so widespread in some parts of Egypt that more than half the male patients at the hospital are affected by it.

The worm in its embryonic form apparently enters the human skin during bathing or paddling in infected pools or streams, and no certain method has been discovered for the expulsion of the worm. There are still in Britain 166 soldiers on the pension list who contracted the disease more than ten years previously, during the South African war, though they have passed the intervening time under conditions which precluded the possibility of re-infection. Girls and women suffer to a less extent than males. Prevention lies in the future in the possibility of infected persons being educated not to pollute bathing-places.

A similar worm, *Schistosomum japonicum*, has been known since 1904 to infect human beings in some districts of China and Japan.

Hook-worm disease.

Ankylostomiasis is the name given to the anaemia caused by the presence in the small intestine of a hook-worm, *Ankylostomum duodenale*. It is very widely spread in various British possessions, and saps both childhood and manhood. In the Southern States of America the disease is usually called Uncinariasis, because a sister worm is chiefly prevalent there. But the symptoms caused by the two worms are almost identical, so that they may be considered together.

Practically all countries lying between parallel 36° N. and 30° S. are infected. In fact, more than half the population of the globe lives in countries where hook-worm disease abounds. In some European countries the infection is wholly confined to mines, where the worms get the raised temperature and moisture on which their development depends. In British Guiana, Egypt, Natal, and the Malay States about half the population is infected, while on some of the tea plantations in India and Ceylon the infection reaches as high as 90 per cent. Acute diseases may strengthen a race by killing off the weakest members, but this is a chronic, insidious disease, of which the sufferer

is unaware, and the whole adult population becomes undermined. By the importation of coolie labour from India the infection has been carried into many innocent countries.

The disease was discovered in some of the Cornwall mines in 1902, nine years after it had been noticed that some of the miners were suffering from anaemia. It was then impossible to trace the source of infection, for during those years miners had come to this locality from Mysore and other parts of Asia, as also from Africa, America, and Australia. The Cornwall outbreak ceased to be an industrial inconvenience when sanitary pails were provided, which could easily be brought to the surface of the mines to be emptied and cleaned. No thorough attempt was made to stamp out the disease, though all anaemic miners were treated with thymol.

It had long been known that man became infected by the mouth, but in 1898 Professor Looss was able to prove that the larvae also infect man by entering the hair follicles of the skin, eventually reaching his small intestine. It is now considered that the skin entry is the more common route by which the larvae of the worm enter the human body. Hundreds and even thousands of these minute worms, about half an inch long, can be expelled by appropriate drugs.

Since 1909, when Mr. Rockefeller began to finance a Commission to try and eradicate the hook-worm disease, 491,000 people have been treated in some of the southern states of America, besides 300,000 others in Puerto Rico. Financial assistance from this Commission was offered in 1913 to some of the countries outside America most severely infected. The important lines upon which administrators should work are to determine the geographical distribution of the infection and to estimate the degree of infection for each area, to treat all infected persons, whether they are actually ill or whether they are but unconscious carriers of the worm (for the poor this treatment must obviously be gratuitous), and gradually to put a stop to soil pollution, for which incinerators are

of great value. During 1912 the American Commission carried out this programme at a round cost of about three shillings for each infected person.

With this disease, as with all others, a new era of health and happiness will arise when all officials are well educated in the management of health problems and when they have succeeded in imparting their knowledge to both British and native residents. Conclusion.

Exigencies of space, which have had always to be borne in mind in writing this chapter, prevent any mention of some other diseases which impede civilization. When it becomes universally and jealously recognized that the health of a people is their divine birthright there will be no further talk of preventable diseases, for all such diseases will be prevented.

CHAPTER VIII

THE MAPPING OF BRITISH TERRITORIES

By Colonel C. F. Close

General considerations.

The account which follows will in the main deal with topographical maps—that is to say, those maps on comparatively small scales, such as the 1 inch to 1 mile and smaller scales, which are in general use by the soldier, the administrator, the traveller, and the geographer, which form the graphic expression of our knowledge of the world's surface and are the foundation of all geographical studies. But at the same time it will be necessary in some cases to allude to maps and plans on much larger scales, namely those which are produced by the cadastral survey departments of most civilized states, and are used as the basis of land settlement, taxation, and registration, and in populous districts are necessary adjuncts to engineering schemes and projects for town-planning. The scales of these latter plans may vary from a few inches up to ten feet to the mile.

Military requirements.

The great variety of the physical conditions of the various component parts of the British Empire, and the great differences in the methods by which these parts became incorporated, are reflected in the origins of the surveys and in their main objects and the procedure adopted. But one generalization holds—the small scale topographical maps of the Empire, with hardly an exception, owe their inception to military requirements; the expression 'small scale topographical map' implying a map which, in addition to showing the works of man in such detail as the scale will allow, also represents the natural features of the earth's surface, and indicates, by one device or another, the relief of the ground.

General requirements.

But although military needs produced the topographical map, it by no means follows that its use is restricted to

military purposes. In the domain of science, surface geology, or physiography, is of course dependent on such maps; for the study of climatology they are essential; history itself finds many of its explanations in topographical maps; modern administration requires them. They are part of the machinery of a civilized state and would now be produced independently of any military requirements. Their enlarged usefulness may be instanced by a comparison of the facts that in the year 1747 the first official topographical maps of Great Britain were made as a direct consequence of the rebellion in the Highlands in 1745, as a military measure of precaution, while nowadays the only topographical maps of New Zealand are produced by the Geological Survey Department of that Dominion for purposes of geological research.

It is clear that the chief factor which determines the scale of any map is the purpose for which the map is to be used. Thus it would be equally futile to attempt to study the physiography of England with the aid of 25 inch to 1 mile Ordnance maps as it would be to try to locate a tramway on the International Map of the World on the scale of about 1 inch to 16 miles. In fact the great range of scale shows the great range of purpose, and the range of purpose is largely the result of the range of local conditions.

The maps of the Empire will be described in the following order: (1) the United Kingdom; (2) Canada; (3) Australia and New Zealand; (4) India; (5) South Africa and Rhodesia; (6) British Tropical Africa; (7) the Federated Malay States; (8) Islands of the Empire; (9) British Guiana and British Honduras.

The British Isles

Maps of sixteenth to eighteenth century.

It is not within the scheme of this work to describe the mediaeval maps of the United Kingdom, but a few words may be said about the maps of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. First, then, in order of date we have the Atlas of England and Wales by Christopher Saxton, based on his own surveys. The dates of the

maps range from 1574 to 1579. The maps are engraved, and the scale is about 3 miles to 1 inch. The hills are shown in profile, as in all early maps before the devices of shading and contouring were introduced. Early in the seventeenth century we have Pont's maps of Scotland; Speed's maps of England, Scotland, and Ireland on a scale of about 3 miles to 1 inch, dated 1610; Hollar's maps of England and Wales, or the Quarter-Master's maps, 'The Kingdom of England and Principality of Wales, exactly described with every Sheere and the small towns in every one of them in six Mappes,' dated 1644, scale about 5 miles to 1 inch, undoubtedly used by soldiers during the Civil War.

Down survey of Ireland.

But the first official maps are those of the well-known 'Down' Survey of Ireland. This survey was carried out under an Act of Parliament dated September 26, 1653, which appointed an Ordnance Commission, by virtue of which a settlement was made 'after the suppression of the late horrid rebellion in Ireland'. The object of the Down survey was to facilitate the distribution of forfeited lands among the 'adventurers' and soldiers. The survey was carried out under the direction of Sir William Petty. The scale on which it was laid 'down' was 1·57 inches to 1 mile. This admirably executed work is our first official cadastral survey.

First official topographical surveys.

Our first official topographical survey was carried out in the middle of the eighteenth century. As a result of the difficulties experienced in suppressing the rebellion in the Highlands in 1745 owing to the want of reliable maps, Lieut.-General Watson conceived the idea of making a military map of Scotland. This was commenced by order of the Duke of Cumberland, in 1747, by Captain (afterwards General) Roy. The scale was $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches to 1 mile. It was completed in manuscript, and is now in the British Museum. Although it is in fact only an elaborate military sketch, it is interesting as being the first complete hill-shaded map of any considerable portion of the United Kingdom, and also as being one of the undoubted sources of the Ordnance Survey.

The French and American wars delayed the institution of a systematic survey of the United Kingdom, but as a step towards this must be noted the measurement of a geodetic base-line at Hounslow Heath in 1784. Eventually, in 1791, under the authority of the Duke of Richmond, Master-General of the Ordnance, a military department, afterwards known as the Ordnance Survey, was formed to survey the United Kingdom on scales suitable for army use. A base line was measured, in 1794, on Salisbury Plain. The first sheet of the 1 inch to 1 mile Ordnance map of England was printed in 1801. The Ordnance Survey.

In reading the above brief account of the early maps of the United Kingdom, it will have been noted that much of the impulse which resulted in surveys and maps was of a military character. We now come to the consideration of other needs and maps and plans of a different nature. In 1823 the Irish Land Valuation Department pressed the Government to undertake the construction of a map of Ireland on a scale of 6 inches to 1 mile. This work was begun by the Ordnance Survey in 1825 and finished in 1842. In 1840 the 6-inch map of Great Britain was begun. After some years of indecision on the part of the Government, during which period there was much discussion as to the best scale for a cadastral map, i.e. a map showing property boundaries, such as fences, hedges, walls, and ditches, on a sufficiently large scale for the computation of the areas of parcels of land, it was decided, in accordance with a resolution of the International Statistical Conference held in Brussels in 1853 (following in this matter the manuscript cadastral survey of France), to adopt a scale of 1/2500 (or 25·34 inches to 1 mile) for the survey of Great Britain. In July 1854 approval was given for the Survey of Great Britain on this scale. It was completed in 1893. In 1887 the 1/2500 Survey of Ireland was begun; it is now approaching completion, and is expected to be finished in 1914. It should also be mentioned that in 1855 large 'town scales' of 1/500 and 1/1056 were

sanctioned for the survey of towns with a population of more than 4,000.

Very small scales have also been sanctioned from time to time, namely the $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to 1 mile, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, $\frac{1}{10}$ inch, and the International scale of 1/1000000 or 15·84 miles to 1 inch. These are, of course, based on the 1-inch map.

Ordnance Survey scales.

The following is a complete list of the scales of Ordnance Maps and Plans :

For towns	1/500	or	126·72	inches to 1 mile.	
	1/1056	or	60	,, ,,	,,
	1/1250 [1]	or	50·68	,, ,,	,,
	1/2500	or	25·34	,, ,,	,,
	1/10560	or	6·0	,, ,,	,,
	1/63360	or	1	inch ,,	,,
	1/126720	or	$\frac{1}{2}$	,, ,,	,,
	1/253440	or	$\frac{1}{4}$	,, ,,	,,
	1/633600	or	$\frac{1}{10}$	,, ,,	,,
	1/1000000	or	$\frac{1}{15·84}$	,, ,,	,,

Large scale Ordnance maps.

The large scale maps of the United Kingdom are the town plans, scales 1/500 or 1/1056 ; the 25-inch maps (strictly 1/2500 or 25·34 inches to 1 mile), and the 6-inch maps. The most important of these is the 25-inch map, which is complete for Great Britain, and is undergoing a second revision, and is nearly complete for Ireland. This map is revised every twenty years. No country in the world has such a complete set of large-scale cadastral plans as the United Kingdom.

The 6-inch map is produced by reduction and redrawing from the 25-inch map. Recently it has been found that, for towns, every practical purpose is served as well by an enlargement of the 25-inch to 50-inch as by a survey on the 1/1056 scale. The 25-inch map has thus an additional importance, as it is the basis of the 1/1250 plans as well as of the 6-inch.

On the 25-inch plans every fence, wall, hedge, ditch, and stream is shown, in fact every physical division of property. The area of every field is marked. In a pedantic

[1] By enlargement from the 1/2500.

sense the 25-inch plans are not cadastral plans because the physical and not the legal property boundaries are shown. But no difficulty is experienced from this cause, and the principle of showing the physical divisions is certainly sound.

Small scale Ordnance maps.

The small scale maps are the 1 inch to 1 mile, $\frac{1}{2}$ inch, $\frac{1}{4}$ inch, $\frac{1}{10}$ inch, and 1/1000000. The 1-inch map is the fundamental small scale map from which the others are derived. It is itself based on the 6-inch map. The 1-inch map is continuously subject to revision, which is so arranged that editions of each sheet succeed each other at intervals of not more than fifteen years. It is at present published in two forms, the black engraved edition without hachures in small sheets of 12 inches by 18 inches, and the coloured edition with brown hachured hills, water in blue, contours in red, woods in green, in large sheets of 18 inches by 27 inches for England, and 18 inches by 24 inches for Scotland, and in small sheets 18 inches by 12 inches for Ireland. This coloured edition was produced in accordance with the recommendations of a War Office Committee which reported in 1892, so that at the moment of writing the coloured 1-inch map has been in existence about twenty years. Since 1892 various modifications and improvements have been adopted. It is a minutely accurate map, in general easy to read, but is, without doubt, capable of further improvement. It is now recognized, for instance, that the interval of the lower contours, 100 feet, is somewhat large for the scale, that the interval of the contours above the 1,000 feet contour (which is now 250 feet) should be the same as that of the lower contours. Other improvements can be suggested, and these will as far as possible be effected after the completion of the second edition, as successive sheets of the third edition appear.

The $\frac{1}{2}$-inch map.

The excellent $\frac{1}{2}$-inch maps of Mr. Bartholomew (reduced from the Ordnance 1-inch) were found so useful to the Army for training and manœuvres, that it was decided, after many years of discussion, that an official series on the same scale should be produced. The principal

edition of this map is a 'layer' map—that is, successive altitudes above sea-level are indicated by a series of tints, green in the low lands, then buff, and finally warm brown for the high hills. The maps of Great Britain published on this scale form at present only a preliminary edition. The final edition will differ from the early one in being engraved instead of zincographed, and in having a generally lighter system of tints, and a revised system of road classification.

The International Map.

Of the International Map of the World, on the scale of 1/1000000, or 15·84 miles to 1 inch, two sheets of Scotland have been published; sheets of England are in course of publication. One sheet of the North of France, including a portion of the south-east of England, has been published by the French Service Géographique de l'Armée. In the opinion of the present writer the systems of projection, conventional signs and colouring laid down by the International Committee of 1909 are very suitable. The International Map, as time goes on, and as year by year more sheets are produced by countries all over the world, will take its position as the standard map for general purposes of reference and study when large regions are dealt with.

Canada

Varying requirements in different regions.

The vast area of the Dominion of Canada, its abundant resources, the great variety of conditions which it embraces, and its future inevitable greatness, make the study of its maps of exceptional interest and importance. The provinces from east to west—Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia—have sometimes been grouped into regions described, by their chief characteristics, as the commercial and mineral region, the wheat-growing region and the mountainous region. The mapping of these different regions has varied with their requirements. Thus the existing modern maps of Canada owe their origin to different needs and are in consequence of different types. For instance, in Ontario and Quebec the most perfect

topographical maps are those called into existence by military requirements, and are produced by the Militia Department. In the great central area the prime necessity is the allotment of land, the settlement of the population and the laying out of townships, and this has resulted in the production of 'Sectional Maps', i.e. maps of an open character, showing chiefly the subdivisions of the land; these maps are produced by the Surveyor-General under the Department of the Interior. Then, again, the requirements of the Geological Survey have resulted in the production of geological maps of various kinds throughout the breadth of the Dominion. Then we have railway surveys galore, Boundary Commission surveys, Public Works surveys, and lake surveys, and work of a true exploratory type in the north. Finally, to a love of adventure, combined with that necessary accompaniment of all scientific progress, namely, curiosity, and certain practical objects, we chiefly owe the detailed maps of portions of the Canadian Alpine region. A whole book would be necessary to give at all an adequate account of these many activities; it is therefore necessary to concentrate the attention upon those maps on which our existing detailed knowledge of the surface features of Southern Canada mainly depends. The maps in question are those published by the Department of Militia and Defence, those published by the Department of the Interior, and the special surveys by various agencies of the mountainous regions of the west.

Topographical surveys by the Militia Department.

In 1904 the Militia Department commenced the survey of the provinces of Quebec and Ontario on the scale of 1 inch to 1 mile.[1] This work has been prosecuted systematically, and, at the moment of writing, an area of about 25,000 square miles has been surveyed in the field. About half this area is already published, and the remainder will be published shortly. Each 1-inch sheet covers an area $\frac{1}{4}^\circ$ of latitude by $\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ of longitude. The sheets are

[1] A small beginning was made in 1892, when a number of sketches were made by a party of cadets from the Royal Military College, Kingston. This material is not incorporated in the new map.

printed in colours, water in blue, brick and masonry houses in red, woods in green, contours in brown. They are excellent specimens of cartography, and all geographers are indebted to the Militia Department for their production. The area surveyed at present covers two blocks, one extending roughly from Montreal to Lake Ontario, and the other from the northern shore of Lake Erie inland for some fifty miles. Eventually, of course, the blocks will join and a continuous area of topographical survey will cover the two provinces. The work was originally authorized by Sir F. Borden, then Minister of Militia, and was organized and systematized by Major Anderson, R.C.E., Assistant Director of Military Surveys. A series of $\frac{1}{2}$ inch to 1 mile maps, reduced from the 1-inch maps, is being prepared. These are printed on the 'layer' system, i.e. successive altitudes are represented by flat tints of colour.[1]

Surveys by the Department of the Interior.

The extensive surveys of the Department of the Surveyor-General of Dominion Lands will be considered, not in their economic, legal, and technical aspects, but only with reference to the character of the small scale maps which are, as it were, by-products of the surveys. These small scale maps, which are mainly skeleton maps, are at present the authoritative maps for the greater part of Canada. Before describing the maps, however, it will be as well to indicate the system adopted for dividing up the country. Broadly speaking, the country is divided into a series of quasi-rectangular blocks by parallels and lines joining similar points along parallels. The east–west boundary lines follow chords of parallels. Let us take the large area from 95° W. longitude (Lake-of-the-Woods) to 120° W. (centre of the Rockies). The 'first' meridian adopted for purposes of this system of division is a little to the west of Winnipeg; the second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth meridians are the meridians 102°, 106°, 110°,

[1] Further information on the subject of the 1-inch and $\frac{1}{2}$-inch topographical maps published by the Militia Department can be obtained, in Canada from the Assistant Director of Surveys, Militia Department, Ottawa, and in London from the Geographical Section, General Staff, War Office. The maps are on sale at the usual agents.

114°, 118°, west of Greenwich. Along the meridians above mentioned, intervals of 6 miles are marked, and along the parallels drawn through these points the corner points of townships are marked. Each block of about 6 miles by 6 miles is a township. On account of the convergence of the meridians adjustments have to be made, but a glance at the published diagrams will explain the matter better than pages of description.

The surveys are published in the form of 'Sectional Maps' on the scale of 3 miles to 1 inch. Each sectional map covers an area 48 miles in latitude by two degrees of longitude. Taking the Regina sheet as a specimen, this is 48 miles north to south, and about 84 miles east to west, i.e. it represents an area of over 4,000 square miles. The diagram exhibiting the incidence of this group of 'Sectional Maps' shows 169 'Sectional Maps', of which some 80 are published, covering an area of over 300,000 square miles. The 'Sectional Maps' themselves show the divisions into townships, which are again divided into squares of one mile side. They show towns, lakes, rivers, railways, railway stations, and trails. They are printed in black. The ground features are roughly indicated by hachures.

The next smaller scale maps are those called the 'Standard topographical maps' on scales of 1/500000 and 1/250000, i.e. about 8 miles and 4 miles to 1 inch respectively. Twenty of these maps have been published of portions of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Ontario. They are not specially surveyed, but are compiled by the Dominion Geographer from such material as is available. They are a useful preliminary series. The name might perhaps mislead those who have not seen them into supposing that they are topographical maps in the ordinary sense. They show the main rivers, lakes, railways, towns, and the territorial divisions and subdivisions, but no attempt is made to indicate the hill features. To say this is not to decry the series, which is a most useful compilation, but one which, from the nature of the case, will be gradually superseded for geographical, military, and certain economic purposes.

The mountainous region.

Topographical surveys of large blocks of country in the Alpine region have been carried out from time to time during the last quarter of a century. The blocks surveyed are for the most part within 50 miles of the various lines of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and are all included in the quadrilateral 49° to 53° N. lat., and 114° to 122° W. long., a space 4 degrees in latitude by 8 degrees in longitude, covering 90,000 square miles. But less than half of this quadrilateral has actually been surveyed. The incidence of the published sheets is best studied on a diagram. Some of this work is exceptionally interesting, notably the photo-topographic survey of part of the Rocky Mountains which was carried out under the direction of Mr. E. Deville, the Surveyor-General, between 1888 and 1892. During these five years about 2,000 square miles were surveyed by Mr. J. J. McArthur and published on the 1/40000 scale. It is a classical instance of the value of photo-topography in suitable conditions, namely, for a map on a fairly large scale, of a country with bold, well-marked, natural features, largely difficult of access, with a short working season.

Another important series of maps is that compiled by the Geological Survey of Canada under the direction of Dr. G. M. Dawson in 1888. The field work was mainly done by Mr. J. McEvoy. Three sheets, showing an area of about 20,000 square miles, were published on a scale of 4 miles to 1 inch, and cover the Kootenay and Shuswap Lake region and the 6,000 square miles of which Ashcroft is the approximate centre.

A splendid survey of the Selkirk Range adjacent to the Canadian Pacific Railway was executed in 1901–2 by Messrs. A. O. Wheeler, H. G. Wheeler, and M. P. Bridgland under the direction of Mr. E. Deville, Surveyor-General. This is published in colours in four admirably printed sheets on the scale of 1/60000. Here again photographic methods were successfully employed. About 1,400 square miles of country were surveyed, many of the peaks in this area being over 10,000 feet above sea-level.

Two useful sheets covering an area of about 2,000

square miles in the Rocky Mountains in the neighbourhood of the railway near Banff were published in 1902 by Mr. J. White, Geographer, on the scale of 2 miles to 1 inch. There should also be mentioned a sketch-map of the Canadian Rocky Mountains, scale 1/500000, by Dr. J. Norman Collie, with corrections published in 1911 by Dr. A. P. Coleman. The limits of this map are about 51° and 52° 30′ N. lat., and 116° and 118° W. long.

The above brief account deals with what are perhaps the more important of the modern maps of the Rocky Mountains and the Selkirk Range, but there are in addition many special railway, geological, and exploration maps. It will be noticed that the maps are on very varied scales, and in some cases overlap, and that even in the quadrilateral mentioned there are many large blanks. A detailed monograph on the state of the surveys and explorations is much to be desired, but it could only be written adequately by a geographer personally acquainted with this interesting region.[1]

Boundary Commission Surveys.

Before closing this sketch of the mapping of Canada it is necessary to mention the Boundary Commission Surveys, (*a*) along the 141st meridian from Mount St. Elias to the Arctic Ocean, (*b*) the coast strip of Alaska, (*c*) the 49th parallel from the Gulf of Georgia to the Lake-of-the-Woods, (*d*) sections of the international boundary from St. Lawrence River eastward.[2]

[1] For further information the reader may be referred to *The Selkirk Range*, by A. O. Wheeler (Government Printing Bureau, Ottawa), and *The Canadian Rockies*, by A. P. Coleman, Ph.D., F.R.S. (Fisher Unwin, London).

[2] The operations of the Geodetic Survey, under the direction of Dr. King, the chief astronomer, comprise the primary triangulation and precise levelling. The purpose of this survey is the establishment, with all possible accuracy, of the geographical co-ordinates of points which shall serve as a basis for surveys of all kinds, and thus avoid duplication by different departments. Astronomical determinations of a high degree of precision are made of the positions of places at present not reached by the Geodetic Survey. More than 200 stations have been so fixed, widely spread over Canada. This survey will make itself felt—indeed, will become indispensable—in the mapping operations of the future.

Australia

The writer of this account of the mapping of the Empire has been fortunate enough to have had a share in the work of surveying Great Britain, South Africa, tropical Africa, and India, and has had the privilege of discussing with Canadian officers the various problems which confront the surveyor in the Dominion. But he has had no opportunity of acquiring any exact personal knowledge of the surveys of Australia, beyond what is obtainable in certain of the public offices in London and in the records of the Royal Geographical Society. The brief account which follows is therefore to be looked upon only as an outline of the information available in London. It is understood, however, that Mr. Scrivener, the Federal Surveyor-General, will shortly publish a report on the surveys of the Commonwealth which will be an authoritative account of the mapping of the island-continent.

Considerations affecting Australian mapping.

Three conditions must be realized in considering Australian maps: first, that the main object of the work of the Surveyor-General's department of each State is the making of land surveys and the marking of boundaries; secondly, that the security which Australia has hitherto enjoyed has until recently prevented the need of military maps being felt; and thirdly, that the union of the States in the Commonwealth is of recent date. It follows that topographical maps in the strict sense hardly exist, and that there is no developed scheme of survey, geodetic, cadastral, and topographical. On the other hand, the professional land surveyors are a skilled body of men, and the land surveys are highly specialized and adequate for their main objects.

New South Wales.

A list of the modern maps of New South Wales contains general maps on scales of 32 and 48 miles to 1 inch, special maps on the scale of 16 miles to 1 inch showing railways, postal organization, pastoral holdings, travelling stock routes, artesian bores, rabbit-proof fencing, and state electorates. Coming to larger scales we find maps of Land

Board Districts, on the scale of 8 miles to 1 inch, showing Divisional, Land District, County and Parish boundaries, and railways, printed in black, and published by the Department of Lands, Sydney. But perhaps the most important series is the series of County maps on the scale of 2 miles to 1 inch, published by the same department. These maps, which are printed in black, show county, district, and parish boundaries, roads and tracks, rivers, lakes, and creeks, but their main intention is to show property boundaries ; each county map of this series is, in fact, a property index, but it also contains much information of a general topographical character, the hill features, however, being either not shown or only conventionally indicated. The same department publishes parish maps on various large scales (2 inches, 4 inches, and 8 inches to 1 mile), and certain special maps. The Public Works Department issues various maps, and H. E. C. Robinson publishes a great variety of maps ranging from a map of Australia on a scale of 50 miles to 1 inch to detail plans of Sydney on a scale of 40 inches to 1 mile.

Victoria

For Victoria we have a similar series of parish maps of 10 and 20 chains to the inch (out of 1,980 parishes about three-quarters have been published), and a series of county maps on the scale of 2 miles to 1 inch. Each county is represented on one or two lithographed sheets, which vary in size. The maps show surveyed allotments, townships, villages, railways, roads, rivers, creeks. The sheets, of which there are 37, are constantly under revision. The series of maps entitled the Geodetic Survey of Australia, on the same scale as the above, is engraved on copper. There are 55 of these sheets, and about one-third are published.

The best general map of Victoria is that published in 1905 by the Surveyor-General on the scale of 8 miles to 1 inch, in four sheets, engraved on copper. Based on this is the Geological map, published by the Director of Geological Surveys, which shows the chief geological features in fourteen shades of colour. There are also large scale geological maps.

South Australia. Of South Australia there are the county plans on the scale of 2 miles to 1 inch (19 out of 46 are at present published); an 8-mile map of the State in 15 sheets, lithographed in black; 'hundred' sheets on the 1-inch scale (most of the 390 are published), and other maps.

Queensland. Of Queensland there are county maps, 2 miles to 1 inch, and a series of 4-mile sheets, and one or two maps on very small scales.

Western Australia. Of Western Australia, 1-inch maps of the settled portions of the South-west Division, 2-inch maps of the closer settled portions, 3-mile maps in 26 sheets of the South-west region, and $3\frac{3}{4}$-mile maps of settled portions of the State, and maps on smaller scales are published by the Department of Lands, and a 10-mile goldfield map published by the Department of Mines.

General note on the maps of Australia. In short, maps of the continent of Australia, printed generally in black, showing boundaries and property divisions, railways and roads, rivers and lakes, exist of very large areas. In particular the county maps on the scale of 2 miles to 1 inch, which cover such large portions of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, and Queensland, form the geographer's raw material for these States, while for general purposes maps are published by each Surveyor-General on small scales, and geological maps are issued by the directors of the State Geological Surveys.

But topographical maps—that is, maps showing the surface features of the land in addition to the natural features—practically do not exist. The geographer and the man of science, the soldier and the traveller, must wait; but there can be little doubt that before long topographical maps will be constructed by the Commonwealth Government.

Tasmania. The state of the mapping of Tasmania is generally similar to that described above. There is a general map of the island, on a scale of 8 miles to an inch, engraved, printed in black, with hill features roughly indicated. There are also a map on the 5-mile scale, in four sheets, published in 1883, but, in spite of corrections,

somewhat inaccurate and out of date ; county charts on the 1-inch and $\frac{1}{2}$-inch scales, 70 in number, covering nearly the whole country ; various town plans ; and a geological map, 15 miles to the inch, in seven colours, a new edition of which is in course of preparation.

New Zealand

In New Zealand the same general conditions obtain as in Australia as regards mapping. There is a general map, 10 miles to 1 inch, in 8 sheets ; a reduction of this, 16 miles to 1 inch, in 2 sheets ; a map on a scale of 8 miles to 1 inch in 9 sheets ; provincial district maps, 4 miles to 1 inch, in two colours ; and county plans on the scale of 1 inch to 1 mile, a series now in progress, generally similar to the county maps of Australia, i.e. each county plan is essentially a boundary and property index. All these are published by the Surveyor-General. But, in addition, in the South Island, the Geological Survey Department has published certain topographical maps on the scale of 1 inch to 1 mile. These are based on data obtained from the Lands and Survey Department with additions by the Geological Survey. The hills are shown by chalk shading, the streams, crests and ridges are clearly marked, the heights of important features are shown, and though not provided with contours or form-lines, a very fair idea of the orography can be obtained from a study of these maps.

India [1]

Early surveys.

The Survey of India had its origin in the early wars of Clive. Although before this period there had been detached surveys, in 1763 Major James Rennell, the celebrated geographer, an officer who served under Clive, was appointed Surveyor-General of Bengal. Rennell's work depended entirely on route traverses, distances being chained and checked by astronomical observations. He is said to have brought this class of work to a high

[1] This section has been for the most part contributed by Major H. L. Crosthwait of the Survey of India.

state of perfection, as indeed a comparison of his maps with present-day surveys testifies. He extended his operations over the whole of Bengal, and as far west as Agra. The scale of his Atlas of Bengal, published first in 1779, is 1 inch to 5 miles. This interesting atlas has lately been reproduced in the Survey of India offices in Calcutta. After Rennell's retirement in 1776[1] the work of route surveys still continued with vigour, and was extended into all parts of the country which had been conquered, surveyors accompanying every army in the field. Numerous observations for latitude by meridian altitudes of stars, and for longitude by the immersion of Jupiter's satellites, were undertaken. But the close of the eighteenth century saw the end of the first period, or period of route surveys in India.

Early triangulation.

As Rennell had been the father of Indian geography, so Colonel Lambton was the father of Indian geodesy, and the originator, in India, of the true foundation on which a topographical superstructure should rest. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that triangulation was recognized as the true basis for accurate mapping. Our Indian possessions had now grown so much in extent that methods which were passable where comparatively small areas were concerned, became inaccurate when applied to a great country. It was Lambton who first pointed this out, and it was largely through the influence of Colonel Sir Arthur Wellesley, afterwards the Duke of Wellington, at that time commanding Lambton's 33rd Regiment, that his suggestions were carried into practice. His scheme was to cover the country with a network of triangles, thereby providing a series of points, fixed with the greatest possible accuracy, which should not only serve as a basis for topographical maps, but also act as a means for affording data to determine the shape and size of the earth. Lambton, after much difficulty, secured the

[1] In 1783 Rennell brought out the first approximately correct map of India, published in London. D'Anville's map had already been published in London in 1754, but from lack of material it had little pretensions to correctness.

necessary instruments and began work[1] in 1802 by the measurement of a base-line at Madras. He used a 36-inch theodolite for triangulation, and a zenith sector for determining astronomical latitudes. The Madras Observatory was selected as the origin of the survey, and the determination of its elements at once became a matter of first importance. Owing to the difficulty of ascertaining longitude before the introduction of telegraphs, various values have been assigned from time to time to the longitude of Madras.[2]

Triangulation was soon carried across the Peninsula in about the latitude of Madras, and provided the first test of the accuracy of maps based on the older methods of traversing. It was found that the true distance from sea to sea was forty miles less than had been previously supposed.

Modern triangulation.

This was a complete vindication for the triangulation method, which at first was not looked on with favour by the earlier surveyors. Though Lambton's method of triangulation was a great advance on that of Rennell, his network system introduced certain technical difficulties. It was not easy to adjust those errors of observation, and of instruments, to which all human endeavours are susceptible ; nor, indeed, was it necessary to cover the whole country with points fixed with such great accuracy, involving an inordinate expenditure of time and money. It was left to Sir George Everest, who had been Lambton's assistant, and succeeded him on his death in 1823, to devise a system which obviated these drawbacks. He conceived the idea of superseding the network triangulation by meridional and longitudinal chains of triangles, which covered the country in the form of a gridiron. They follow selected meridians and parallels of latitude enclosing quadrilateral figures. The central spaces thus formed

[1] On the 10th of April, 1802, from which date the present survey began. It was not until 1818, however, that Lambton's position was officially recognized, when he was appointed the first superintendent, Trigonometrical Surveys.

[2] For the latest value see *Report on Recent Determination of Longitude of Madras,* by Captain S. G. Burrard, R.E., 1897.

were left to be filled up by secondary and tertiary triangulation, or traverses, based on the primary work, in order to provide sufficient points for the plane-tabler who constructs the detailed map. Ten bases have now been measured with the Colby compensated bars in different parts of India, and the primary triangulation was completed in India proper with either 36-inch or 24-inch theodolites.

In recent years a series has been pushed through Baluchistan to the Persian frontier, and Burma is being covered in a manner similar to India. Work is being carried up to Gilgit to effect a junction with the Russian triangulation in the Pamirs. Owing to the great increase of accuracy in the graduation of instruments, all work, of late years, has been carried out with 12-inch theodolites, and is of a very high order. The base-lines for the control of the triangulation will in future be measured with invar wires.

Gravimetric survey.

With a view to further determining the figure and constitution of the earth, supplementary observations have been made to ascertain the changes in gravity as regards both magnitude and direction. For this purpose astronomical observations for latitude and azimuth have been made at a very large number of stations fairly well distributed over India, which is also covered with a network of arcs of longitude, determined by the interchange of telegraphic signals, while the force of gravity has been determined at a certain number of selected stations by means of the half-seconds pendulum. This work is being carried on in the Ganges Valley. These observations have led to the discovery of curious anomalies in the distribution of local attraction.[1]

Tidal, levelling, and magnetic operations.

Tidal observations have performed the double function of providing a datum for levelling operations of precision, by the determination of mean sea-level, and of providing a basis for the construction of tide-tables for shipping on the Indian coasts. In these the time of high and low water, and the height to which they will rise, is predicted

[1] For details see Survey of India Professional Papers, No. 10 and No. 12.

a year in advance. The observations have also been used to investigate local changes of level between sea and land, and other scientific questions connected with the rigidity of the earth, and variation of latitude. Self-registering tide-gauges have been at work along the coast at intervals since 1873. In all, at forty-two ports there have been observations, from which tide-tables are published for forty ports annually. At present nine tide-gauges are working. For an exact determination of heights, lines of precise spirit-levelling have been run all over India, starting from, and closing at, the mean sea-level of the various tide-gauges. This network has been adjusted, the orthometric and dynamic heights of the various bench-marks published. The bench-marks provided by these lines of levels form the standard of reference for engineering works throughout the country. A preliminary magnetic survey, controlled by five base stations, has been made over India and Burma.[1]

Topography.

The system of breaking down the great primary triangles of the gridiron, and filling in the centre spaces of the quadrilaterals by means of a network of secondary and tertiary triangles, thus providing sufficient points for detail surveys, has already been alluded to. In flat country traversing has to be resorted to, but in each case the necessary points are provided by basing the work on the primary triangulation. This class of work is usually carried out by small theodolites. To Colonel Colin Mackenzie is due the credit of placing the topographical surveys on a sound basis, using triangulation as a foundation. (Triangulation was applied to topographical surveying in England, for the first time, in the year 1791.) This work he began in Mysore, early in the last century. From that time onwards the surveys have constantly progressed, until the whole of India has been

[1] See further the General Reports of the Survey of India; the account of the operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India (base-line—vol. i; triangulation—vols. ii, iii, iv, iv a, vi, vii, viii, xii, xiii, xiv, and azimuths; latitude observations — vols. xi, xviii; longitudes, arcs—vols. ix, x, xv, xvii; pendulums—vol. v; tidal operations—vol. xvi; levelling operations—vols. xix, xix a, xix b); Professional Papers, Survey of India.

surveyed on one scale or another. As a rule the field scale has been 1 inch to 1 mile, but considerable areas have also been executed on a scale of 2 inches to 1 mile. Of Hyderabad State there only exists a geographical reconnaissance, and in Madras there are no Survey of India maps except the $\frac{1}{4}$-inch atlas sheets of India compiled from various sources.

The detailed field work is carried out by means of a simply constructed plane-table [1] (30 by 24 inches) and sight rule, instruments which are admirably suited to the Indian surveyors. When points are visible the method of fixing by resection is employed and the surveyor need do no chaining, except in flat and enclosed country. In the earlier work hill features were shown by hachuring, or form-lines, but now contours, at approximately 50-feet intervals, are inserted on the standard 1-inch maps by means of a special clinometer. The introduction of this clinometer, about 1883, known as the Survey of India pattern, marked an epoch in the topographical delineation of hills. On smaller scale maps, where the intervals between contours are larger, they have been supplemented by hill shading. The field work is carried on during the six cold-weather months, from which the resulting maps are drawn in the ensuing hot weather. The scale of fair drawing is such as to admit of a reduction of one-third on publication.

The older maps.

With the exception of certain Native States and Madras, maps of nearly the whole of India have been published on a scale of 1 inch to 1 mile, and of the whole of India, in atlas sheet form, on the scale of 1 inch to 4 miles. Some of these sheets are very old and far behind the standard of modern maps. This arises from the fact that there has been in the past little fixity of policy as regards topographical surveys, and no provision had been made for systematic revision.

Survey Committee.

In 1904 the Government appointed a committee to investigate the whole question. Acting mainly on the

[1] The plane-table was first used in India by Colonel Mackenzie, and the present Indian pattern was devised by Captain D. Robinson in 1860.

recommendations of this committee, the Government of India have laid down the following topographical programme :

1. The preparation of a modern map of India on a scale of 1 inch to 1 mile, according to a definite programme, the whole work to be completed in 25 years.

2. The Atlas of India to be superseded by degree sheets on a scale of 1 inch to 4 miles, to be engraved on copper.

3. A general Map of India to be engraved on a scale of 1/1000000. This map differs from the International Series, but a series on the International plan will also be prepared.

General note on the maps of India.

The state of the mapping of India before the adoption of the report of the 1904 committee may be summarized thus. Maps on the scale of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to 1 mile existed, in one form or another, of the whole of India. Over large areas also maps on the scale of 1 inch to 1 mile were available. In addition to these, considerable areas had been surveyed for forest administrative purposes on the scale of 4 inches to 1 mile. Many provincial maps on the $\frac{1}{16}$ inch to 1 mile scale had been published, and of course there were general maps on smaller scales. The new programme has been outlined above. It does not appear probable that this programme will be carried through without material modification. It may be stated with confidence that unless the strength of the Survey of India is considerably increased, it will be impossible to carry out the 1-inch survey of the whole of India in twenty-five years, reckoning from 1905. A more probable period is fifty years. Then the value of the 1-inch scale has been seriously called in question. Over immense regions the scale is without doubt too large. An alteration in the programme appears almost inevitable. However that may be, many features of the programme call for praise. It is the first thoroughly systematic scheme embracing the whole of the Indian Empire of nearly two million square miles. The whole of India is divided, under this scheme, into areas 4 degrees square, represented

on sheets on the scale of 1/1000000. Each of these again includes sixteen sheets on the scale of $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to 1 mile, and each of these includes sixteen sheets on the scale of 1 inch to 1 mile.

The 1-inch sheets are printed in five colours, red for roads and sites, blue for water, brown for contours, green for jungle, and black for other detail and lettering. They are a great improvement on any 1-inch maps previously produced in India. Over 600 of these new sheets have been published, representing an area of about 150,000 square miles.

South Africa

Most readers will remember the difficulties experienced by the Army in the South African war on account of the want of topographical maps. On the outbreak of war there were practically no reliable detailed maps of the sub-continent. In fact the only topographical maps were those made in 1892 of the small triangle of Natal, north of Ladysmith. If this survey had been extended to the south of Ladysmith, the history of the war in Natal might have been largely altered. The maps used during the war were compiled mainly from farm surveys. There were three principal series, Jeppe's series, the Wood and Ortlepp series, and the series compiled gradually, during the campaign, by Colonel H. M. Jackson.

State of South African surveys.

In dealing with the actual state of the surveys of South Africa, it is first of all necessary to divide these surveys into two distinct classes; the one topographical, due entirely to military agency, and the other cadastral, due entirely to civil necessities. The topographical maps, though valuable for many administrative and scientific purposes, owe their production to the Geographical Section of the General Staff of the Army. The cadastral maps, which existed in all the present provinces of the Union long before the war, are the necessary adjuncts of the system of property registration. Each farm is surveyed independently, each has its number, and the farm plan and title are preserved in the offices of the

surveyors-general of the provinces. From the nature of the case, the farm plans do not attempt to indicate topographical detail in any but the roughest way.

And now it is necessary to mention a curious and unusual feature of the surveys of South Africa, namely the prosecution of the great framework of the geodetic triangulation long before use was made of it for any practical purpose. To say this is not to cast any doubt on the value of this work, which will abundantly justify itself. But the fact remains that the great scheme of Sir David Gill, the triangulation which was ably executed by Sir William Morris between the years 1882 and 1893, in the Cape Colony and Natal, was not made use of for mapping purposes before the war. Since then the work has been completed and now covers the Transvaal, the Orange Free State and Basutoland, and a long arm of triangles is thrust northward until it almost reaches Lake Tanganyika.

Orange Free State.

The topographical surveys of South Africa date from the year 1905. In this year the Geographical Section of the General Staff commenced the survey of the Orange Free State on the scale of 1/125000. The work was for three years in charge of Captain L. C. Jackson, and afterwards in that of Captain H. Winterbotham, who completed it. It was entirely carried out by the Colonial Survey Section, Royal Engineers, under the abovementioned officers. The area of the Orange Free State is 52,000 square miles (almost the size of England), and the field work of the survey was completed in five and a half years at a cost of £18,500, of which the colony contributed half. There is no instance of a topographical survey more expeditiously or cheaply carried out, or more efficiently organized. Owing to unavoidable circumstances, which need not here be entered into, some delay has occurred in issuing the published maps, but these are being pushed on, and the Free State will shortly possess a really excellent and complete series of maps.

Cape Province.

In the Province of the Cape of Good Hope a different organization was adopted. Special officers were selected

by the Geographical Section of the General Staff, and surveyed the country sheet by sheet on the scale (eventually) of 1/250000 or about 4 miles to 1 inch. The authority for this survey expired in November 1911, and the work then ceased, but during this period an area of more than 100,000 square miles had been surveyed. The work, though not of the precision of the Orange Free State survey, is good and reliable, and forms a broad belt, nearly 300 miles deep, south of latitude 28° S. Eighteen sheets have been published. Many officers took part in this work ; those in charge at different periods were Captains Hunter, Evans, Gordon, and Hopkins.

Basuto-land.

Basutoland was geographically surveyed during the years 1906 to 1911 by Captain M. C. Dobson, who mapped the country single-handed. This survey is published by the Geographical Section, General Staff, in four sheets on the scale of 1/250000.

A manœuvre area of about 10,000 square miles has been surveyed in the south of the Transvaal, but the work is not yet published.

The modern topographical surveys of South Africa thus cover the whole of the Orange Free State, the whole of Basutoland, more than 100,000 square miles of the Cape of Good Hope, and a small area in the Transvaal, the total area surveyed being about 170,000 square miles. Maps are available of Basutoland and of about 50,000 square miles of the Cape of Good Hope, and the reproduction of the rest is being proceeded with. The War Office has done its part, and the execution of any further surveys in the field will necessarily be for the consideration of the Union Government. In those portions of the Union where topographical surveys have not been carried out,

Natal, Transvaal.

namely, Natal, the South of the Cape, and the greater part of the Transvaal, the geographer must content himself with maps compiled from farm plans. These have all the well-known defects of such compilations, but they give the farm and town sites and certain other information ; they are of course very unreliable as regards hill features. On the whole, though there is much still to be

done, South Africa may congratulate itself on the state of its surveys. It has a fine geodetic triangulation covering the whole country, it has excellent topographical surveys of the Orange Free State, of Basutoland, and of half of the Cape of Good Hope, and it has also a system of land registration and farm surveys well suited to the needs of the country.

Rhodesia

The mapping of Rhodesia is still in an early stage of development, although a single chain of first-class triangulation stretches through it from the Transvaal border to within seventy miles of Lake Tanganyika. So far as concerns Southern Rhodesia the best available maps are those compiled in the office of the Surveyor-General, reproduced by the Geographical Section of the General Staff, and published in 1910 in seven sheets on the scale of 1/500000 (about 8 miles to 1 inch). These sheets, which are dependent mainly on a compilation of farm surveys, are, from the nature of the case, of a provisional character only. Of North-east Rhodesia the most reliable map is that compiled by Mr. O. L. Beringer on the 1/1000000 scale, published in 1907 by Mr. E. Stanford for the British South Africa Company. This is based on information collected and surveys made by the Survey Department of North-east Rhodesia. The maps of North-west Rhodesia are of a still rougher description; in fact this country is still in the exploratory stage. They consist of a map of the 'Barotze Kingdom' by Major Goold Adams, 1897, scale 1/2000000, published by the War Office; and of three maps published by the Royal Geographical Society on the same scale, namely, 'Marotseland,' by Major Gibbons, 1901, north-west part of North-west Rhodesia by Captain Lynch, 1908, and the north-east part by Mr. J. M. Moubray, 1908.

Reliable maps exist of the South-east Rhodesia-Portuguese East Africa boundary (1892–8), of the Rhodesia-Portuguese boundaries north and south of the Zambezi, and of the Anglo-German boundary between Lakes Nyasa

and Tanganyika (1898). Maps of these boundary commissions have been published by the Geographical Section, General Staff, and reductions have been published by the Royal Geographical Society. The officers who took part in these various commissions were Colonels Leverson, Close and Boileau, the late Lieut.-Col. Watherston, Majors O'Shee and Russell-Brown, Captains Cox and Campbell.

The long frontier joining Lakes Tanganyika, Mweru, and Bangweulu, and thence stretching along the Katanga watershed to 24° E., has been delimited, and a commission has been appointed to demarcate the Anglo-Portuguese (North-west Rhodesia-Angola) frontier, so that it will not be very long before Rhodesia is hemmed in by boundary commission surveys, and, as it has a backbone of first-class triangulation, and has competent survey departments, it is reasonable to expect that before long its maps will emerge from their existing imperfect and somewhat primitive condition.

British Tropical Africa

The Crown colonies and protectorates of British tropical Africa are the following : on the west coast, the Gambia, Sierra Leone, the Gold Coast, Southern and Northern Nigeria (now combined) ; and in east and central Africa, Nyasaland; East Africa, the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, Uganda, and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It does not fall within the scope of this account to describe the early explorations of Livingstone, Speke, Burton, Stanley, and the other pioneers who first opened up tropical Africa to Europe, nor will the second period of exploration be dealt with at any length, namely, that which was in part the cause, in part the effect, of the early arrangements for the partition of Africa between Great Britain, France, Germany, Belgium, and Portugal. It will be necessary to take account of the steps by which precise geographical information of Africa has been acquired, and there is no uncertainty as to the starting-point of this period. The first reliable information as to

the geographical features of the continental protectorates and colonies mentioned above was derived from the labours of the great series of International Boundary Commissions which began in 1884, and has not yet drawn to a close, although it should be said that there are only two important British frontiers remaining to be delimited.

The work of explorers.

It is perhaps desirable at this point to indicate briefly the progress in the accuracy of the mapping of Africa which has taken place since the days of the great explorers. The inaccuracy of the work of such great men as Livingstone and Speke is due, not to any failure on their part, but to the two facts, first that it was beyond any man's power to depict accurately the vast regions they penetrated, and secondly, that though an explorer has little difficulty in fixing his latitude with very fair accuracy, it is quite another matter with regard to his longitude. The work of the explorers is thus, as a rule, very defective as regards detail and unreliable as regards longitude. The degree of unreliability of course varies, but it is not uncommon to find errors of longitude of twenty or thirty miles in maps made before the boundary commission period. Such errors gave rise to many difficulties in the interpretation of treaties and in the staking out of frontiers, but looking back upon this interesting age of boundary commissions, now nearly over, it is really surprising how little friction between the countries concerned these difficulties caused. There is in fact hardly an instance on record of a serious disagreement between the commissions appointed to delimit an international frontier in Africa.

At the period of writing, the total length of British African frontiers accurately delimited is about 15,000 miles, and about 3,000 linear miles remain to be done.

Progress of topographical surveys.

We may picture a stage in the exploration of British African territories in which any particular protectorate has accurately surveyed frontiers, fairly accurate surveys near the principal settlement and fairly accurate surveys of coast-line and lake shores. But the great area of the interior is only known to us by the information to be derived

from very rough sketches, and little or no reliance is to be placed on the representation of the hill features or of the water system. This is the second stage out of which we are rapidly passing. We have now to deal with the new age, the age of accurate topographical surveys. The chief factor in this development is the Colonial Survey Committee, a body which is composed of representatives of the Colonial Office, Ordnance Survey, and General Staff, and advises the Secretary of State on survey matters. It has been the constant aim of this Committee, which was created in 1905, to ensure uniformity of method and accuracy and permanence of results. It is not, however, by any means the case that survey effort has been limited to the production of topographical maps. Very much valuable work has been carried out in the execution of large-scale surveys for the settlement of the natives in Uganda, of white settlers in East Africa, and for the development of productive estates in the Gold Coast and elsewhere. In general the trigonometrical and topographical work has been carried out by officers and men of the Royal Engineers, and the large-scale cadastral surveys by civilian surveyors, but there is no fixed rule.

The four colonies in which most survey work has been done, and of which the most accurate maps are either available or will shortly be available, are Uganda, East Africa, Southern Nigeria, and the Gold Coast, and a brief account will now be given of the surveys of these colonies.

Uganda. The framework of the surveys is the admirable triangulation, extending from the Indian Ocean to Lake Edward, and from near the shores of Lake Kivu to Lake Albert, carried out by successive boundary commissions and by the party which measured the arc of meridian for $2\frac{1}{2}$ degrees to the south of Lake Albert. Based on this and on other systematic triangulation is a block of survey covering about 40,000 square miles, most of which has now been published on the scale of 1/250000. The latest addition to these surveys is that carried out by the Mfumbiro boundary commission which covered the area between the Mfumbiro (or Virunga) Mountains and Lake

Edward. The following officers are to be particularly remembered in connexion with the execution of these admirable topographical surveys—Colonel Delmé Radcliffe, Majors Bright and Jack, Captains Behrens, Macfie, and Prittie, and Lieuts. Fishbourne and Pennington. The officer last named died of fever whilst engaged on the survey. With the exception of a small area in Ankole the whole block of country between Lake Albert, the Ruwenzori range, Lake Edward, the Mfumbiro Mountains, the River Kagera, and the British shore of Lake Victoria has been topographically surveyed, the surveys being based on a trigonometrical network of high accuracy.

The task of the Survey Department of Uganda, under Mr. R. C. Allen, is the not less important one of surveying the native estates on the large scale of 1/10000, in order that the natives may be given a clear title to their land, and that the various properties may be accurately demarcated. Steady and methodical progress is being made with this settlement survey, which is now being executed at the rate of more than 600 square miles a year. It is an important factor in the peaceful government of the country. The administered portion of Uganda is, on the whole, the best surveyed of all our tropical possessions in Africa.

East Africa.

The Survey Department of East Africa is divided into two main branches, the trigonometrical and topographical, and the cadastral. The trigonometrical framework, which is of great accuracy, is tied on to the great trigonometrical chain mentioned above, which extends from the Indian Ocean at Mombasa to the heart of Africa. The accurate topography is chiefly on the scale of 1/125000 or about 2 miles to 1 inch. Each sheet covers an area of about 1,200 square miles, and some twelve sheets are completed. In addition, many thousands of square miles have been sketched in a rough fashion for preliminary reproduction on the scale of 1/250000. Much good topographical work has been done in East Africa, but even in the south there are many blanks which the geographer would desire to see filled. This will be done in time. Meanwhile the

most important areas have been surveyed, or are about to be.

The cadastral survey of East Africa is of unique importance in that it is largely concerned with the surveying and allotment of estates to white planters and settlers. The department has to cope with an ever-increasing demand for land on the healthy uplands. It also has to arrange for the surveys of the Arab estates on the low-lying coast belt. The cadastral branch has been somewhat undermanned in the past, and has heavy arrears to get through. But much has been done, and the rapidity and precision of the cadastral work improves. The following have been chiefly responsible for East African surveys—Majors Smith and Knox, Captains Williams and Cox, Lieut. Coode, Messrs. Townsend and Galbraith.

Nigeria.

Southern Nigeria (which has been administratively joined to Northern Nigeria) has a regularly organized survey department divided into topographical and cadastral branches, of which the former is at present the most important. The survey of Southern Nigeria presents many difficulties. There are the coastal region of creeks and mangrove swamps, and an intermediate belt of dense forest, which merges into thinner forest and grass lands. In spite of the forest the country is densely populated, and the survey constantly shows how greatly the number of villages was previously underestimated. The topographical survey now in progress is perhaps the most exact and detailed survey ever undertaken in such a region. It presents many features of great technical interest, notably the fact that, in the coastal area, the survey framework is provided by a system of traverses. In the regions not yet reached by the regular survey, sketch maps from route surveys have been prepared. These represent the outcome of the secondary stage of exploration mentioned above. The regular maps of Southern Nigeria will be published on the scale of 1/125000.

The regular mapping of Southern Nigeria owes almost everything to Major Guggisberg and to his officers, Captain

Rowe, Lieuts. Waterhouse, Kentish, and Bell, Messrs. Cleminson, Webb, and others. The compilation of the sketches of the rest of Southern Nigeria has been carried out by Captain Beverley, and amongst the many who have contributed material should be mentioned Sir R. Casement and Captains Coe, Roupell, and Steel.

Northern Nigeria had, until quite recently, no regular survey department. The maps published (on the scale of 1/250000) have been compiled by the Intelligence Officer from route sketches carried out by officials of all kinds. These are adjusted to a very interesting framework, namely, 2,000 miles of international frontier surveyed by boundary commissions, and thirteen towns in the interior fixed in latitude and in longitude (telegraphically) by a special mission sent out in 1907. The existing maps of Northern Nigeria are largely due to the labours of Captains Ommanney, Evans, and Kempthorne, of the boundary commissioners, Colonels Lang, Elliott, and Jackson, Majors O'Shee, Whitlock, and Simonds, Captains Frith, Jackson, Doucet, Nugent, and Moore, and Lieuts. Hearson and Downes, and the interior sketches are the work of a host of officers and officials whom it is not possible to mention by name but who have the satisfaction of having assisted in the preliminary mapping of this territory of a quarter of a million square miles.

Gold Coast.

The Survey Department of the Gold Coast has three principal duties at the present time—the survey and demarcation of gold-mining and other concessions, the survey on large scales of the chief towns with a view to town planning and sanitation schemes, and the topographical survey. The latter, from the point of view of this notice, is the most interesting duty, and the state of the topographical surveys will be briefly described.

The topographical maps of the colony proper are a by-product of the Concession Surveys. These have been carried out since the year 1902, and are based on a large framework of traverses. The dense forest which covers most of the country prevents the execution of a triangulation except at ruinous expense. The net-

work of exact traverses, therefore, is the necessary result of local conditions. From the Concession Surveys a map on a scale of 1/125000 was produced, and is the standard map of the colony. The forest, in addition to making triangulation impossible, has also had the effect of rendering any very precise delineation of the hill features a matter of difficulty.

As to Ashanti, only maps based on sketches are available. But in the Northern Territories, covering an area of 40,000 square miles, a good topographical survey is in course of execution. The southern portion of these territories resembles the Gold Coast proper in being covered with dense forest, but the northern half is more open, being in parts grass country and in parts covered with thin bush. We may expect in the course of a few years to possess good topographical maps of the Northern Territories. The officers who have been in charge of the surveys of the Gold Coast are the late Lieut.-Col. Watherston, Major Guggisberg, and Captain Lees ; other officers who have been employed on these surveys are Captains Coningham, Symons, Hall, and Mackesy.

Zanzibar and Pemba.

The survey of Zanzibar on a scale of 2 inches to 1 mile was carried out by a survey party sent from India. The survey of the island of Pemba on the 1 inch scale was completed in 1912 by a party under Captain Craster, assisted by Captain Kyngdon. The maps are now published.

Sierra Leone.

This completes the account of the regular surveys of large areas in British tropical Africa. For Sierra Leone we are dependent on the work of the boundary commissions on the frontier regions, and in the interior we have only rough sketches based on astronomically fixed points. These have been compiled and published in sheets. The immediate neighbourhood of Freetown, however, has been surveyed by Captains Pearson and Cox, and a map on the 1 inch scale is published.

Nyasaland. Sudan.

For Nyasaland also we are mainly dependent on the work of the boundary commissions and occasional scattered surveys. The country as a whole is not well

mapped. In the vast area of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan exploratory surveys have been in progress since 1898, near Suakin since 1884, having been carried out by Colonel Talbot, Major Gwynn, Captains Pearson and Coningham, and other officers and officials. The preliminary exploration of this million square miles may now be said to be almost complete. These few lines cannot do justice to the energy with which these exploratory surveys have been prosecuted. Provisional sheets to the number of about 130 have been published on the 1/250000 scale. In addition to these explorations, the Sudan Survey Department has carried out large-scale surveys of Khartoum, Omdurman, Suakin, Port Sudan, and the Gezira, or area between the Blue and White Niles.

Year by year, as the result of the organized and systematic effort described above, our knowledge of the surface features of British tropical Africa grows. The administrator is being provided with maps showing the sites of villages and farms and the boundary of every tribe ; the white prospector or settler is enabled to determine exactly the extent of his concession ; the soldier is obtaining the military maps he has long asked for ; the man of science can now, with the aid of accurate maps, study the physiography of great areas of the hitherto dark continent. We are taking stock of our possessions, and it will not be many years before the stock-taking is fairly complete.[1]

Other Territories

Federated Malay States.

A few years ago the survey departments of the four original States were amalgamated into a single Survey Department. Before this the only branch which dealt with the country as a whole was the trigonometrical branch. The existing state of the surveys is briefly as follows. An excellent trigonometrical and traverse framework covers the four States ; cadastral surveys,

[1] For information as to the state of the surveys of British tropical Africa see the Annual Report of the Colonial Survey Committee. For information as to the existing state of publication apply to the Geographical Section, General Staff, War Office.

necessitated by the allotment of tin, rubber, and other concessions, and by government requirements, are in full operation; topographical surveys have been commenced, and the topographical staff has been recently increased by the addition of the Colonial Survey Section, which has already surveyed Mauritius, St. Helena, and the Orange Free State.

Islands of the Empire.

Good maps are available of—

Jersey, 2 inches to 1 mile, contours in brown, 1901, now under revision.

Guernsey, 1/2500, 6 inches to 1 mile, and 1 inch to 1 mile, rigorously surveyed, 1897–9.

Bermuda, 6 inches and 1 inch to 1 mile, 1897–8.

Ceylon. The state of the surveys of Ceylon is exceptional. Ceylon has a large and costly Survey Department which has been in existence for a great many years. There is no doubt that this department does, from year to year, meet the requirements of the Colonial Government so far as concerns the immediate provision of maps necessary for land settlement. But perhaps too much attention has in the past been paid to satisfying immediate requirements and too little to assuring the permanence and future utility of the results. Extensive large-scale surveys on scales of 4 chains and 8 chains to 1 inch have been carried on, but there is no general cadastral system. A 1 inch topographical survey was begun in 1908, but has progressed very slowly. Geographers will welcome the publication of topographical maps of this important colony.

Cyprus, 1 inch to 1 mile, surveyed by Captain H. H. Kitchener in 1885. The island is now being cadastrally surveyed.

Fiji, the principal triangulation of Viti Levu, the largest island, has been completed by Mr. G. T. McCaw, who was subsequently engaged in triangulating Vanua Levu.

Hong Kong, $\frac{3}{4}$ inch to 1 mile, 1909.

Malta, 2 inches to 1 mile, corrected to 1911.

Mauritius, 1 inch to 1 mile, in 6 sheets in colours, surveyed by the Colonial Survey Section, 1905.

British New Guinea is as yet in a very early stage of exploration. As far as detailed information is concerned, the only maps are, of the coast, the Admiralty charts, and, of the interior, sketches made on journeys, some of which have been reproduced by the Royal Geographical Society. The General Staff published in 1906 a rough general map on the scale of 1/2000000.

St. Helena, 2½ inches to 1 mile, in one sheet in colours, surveyed by the Colonial Survey Section in 1902.

As regards the *West Indies*, the surveys of these islands are for the most part carried on for land department purposes only. No regular topographical survey exists of any British West India island. The most elaborate surveys yet carried out in the West Indies are those of Trinidad, which has a complete triangulation and cadastral framework. There is a general map of Jamaica published by the General Staff, on the scale of 8 miles to 1 inch in one sheet, but the information is very imperfect.

British Guiana. There has been no systematic survey of British Guiana. For the coast there are two Admiralty charts and there are rough surveys of a portion of the British Guiana-Venezuela frontier. The rest of the country is imperfectly explored.

British Honduras. The question of making a topographical survey of British Honduras is under consideration.

CHAPTER IX

SOME ASPECTS OF IMPERIAL COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATION—MIGRATION—CONCLUSION

By O. J. R. Howarth

Imperial Commercial Relations

The writer of this chapter has had the advantage of reading all which precede it in this and earlier volumes: they contain texts for a hundred imperial sermons which he could not deliver if he would. But there also emerge certain subjects, closely allied, other than those dealt with on general lines elsewhere, whose bigness places them outside the mechanical limitations of the present work; they are thus forbidden expert treatment in detail, but they call for passing comment. They bear mainly upon imperial economic relations. Their consideration, however brief, affords also an opportunity for reference to an important step which has been taken, not before it was time, towards a better understanding of the trade and resources of the Empire. This was the appointment, in 1912, of a Royal Commission (p. 63) to investigate the natural resources and economic potentialities of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, and Newfoundland, and their trade and requirements in regard to foodstuffs and raw materials, as well as those of the mother country, and to suggest methods of improvement and development, subject to the limitation that existing fiscal laws and policy are not to be brought under comment. The Commission issued its second interim *Report* in 1914;[1] this dealt primarily with Australasia, but incidentally with subjects, to some of which reference will presently be made, of wider imperial significance.

[1] Cd. 7210; it was preceded by a short introductory report and the separate publication of a considerable mass of evidence.

Colonial preference.

It is a truism that trade is the prime cause of imperial expansion, and, along with racial relationship, holds the Empire in union. The pioneering trader has vied with the trained explorer for the greater honour in opening up new territories ; the history of the Empire, in some instances down to the present day, reveals the political importance of the oversea trading company. The conception of a monopoly of British colonial trade for British traders is as old as the Navigation Acts of the seventeenth century. It survived as a leading principle for nearly two centuries, until the introduction of free trade into the United Kingdom in the middle of the nineteenth century. That movement was followed by a complete reaction, but the earlier conception, profoundly modified as it has been, was never forgotten, and it emerged in the movement, by no means wholly abortive, which was made at the Colonial Conference of 1887 in favour of a colonial preferential system, which should provide moneys for imperial defence (pp. 50 *seqq.*) and the protection of commerce. From the last years of the nineteenth century the great oversea dominions, in the exercise of independent governance, gave preferential treatment, involving reduced customs duties, in favour of British over foreign imported goods. But the question, on its introduction into the politics of the mother country, found opposing parties almost ready made. Those who support the reform of the tariffs of the United Kingdom base their arguments upon the profound change in its economic position in the commercial world since the introduction of free trade. Britain was then supreme as a manufacturing country, dominated foreign markets, and could afford freely to exchange her manufactured goods for foreign raw materials and foodstuffs, whereas now her manufactures are in direct competition, both at home and abroad, with those of foreign countries. The reformers, by means of a low tariff on foreign manufactured goods, seek to reduce direct taxation without reducing the revenue available for social reform and other common purposes, and to improve the demand for

employment in manufacturing industries, and the standard of wages. They aim to foster imperial commerce, and thereby imperial union, by giving preference to the oversea dominions in the home market, whether or not such preference should connote a tax upon foreign foodstuffs; even if it did, they maintain that the price of food would not rise. Between the hostile views no striking of a balance can be attempted; the opponents of reform meet most of the above contentions with a flat denial; they believe that the taxation proposed would raise prices, limit the purchasing powers of the people, lead to the abolition of the favourable treatment in respect of tariffs which is now enjoyed by Britain in the great majority of foreign markets, and thus limit British trade generally, and increase unemployment. The imperial aspect of the reformers' proposals is controverted (if not ignored); in them an easy occasion for discord between the mother country and the overseas dominions is foreseen. The limitation imposed upon the Dominions Commission mentioned in the first paragraph of this chapter, in regard to the terms of its inquiry, might help a future commentator, deprived of other information, to date its appointment pretty accurately. Protection is frequently stated to be a fertile source of political corruption. The unique economic position of Britain is adduced by either side as an argument for or against reform, and the experience of countries where protection is in operation has been adduced as proof or disproof with that elasticity which is proverbially attributed to statistics.

Imperial statistics: inter-colonial trade.

The mention of statistics leads to a reference which it is desirable to make to the tables which have been contributed to these volumes. In them some attempt has been made to distinguish the more important directions of intercolonial trade, and these have been also represented diagrammatically on the accompanying map, because their small proportions to the total volume of trade causes their local importance, and still more their promise in regard to the future of imperial commercial union, to be commonly lost to sight. But their

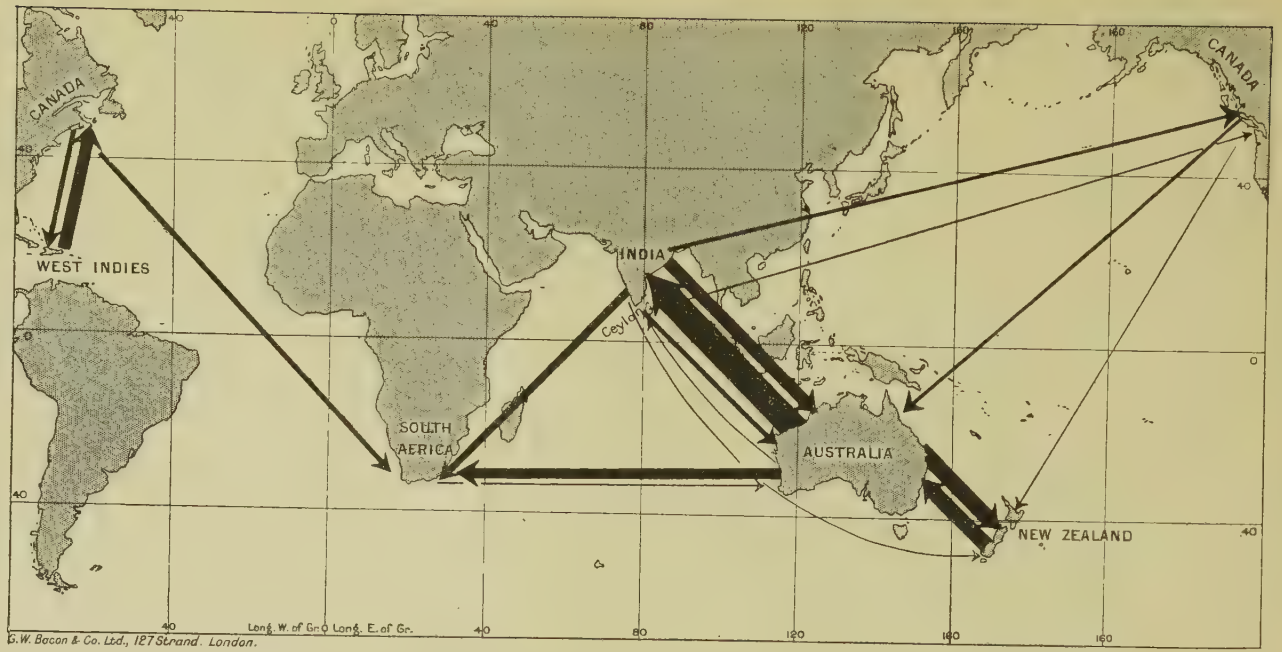

FIG. 2. Intercolonial Commercial Exchanges exceeding £200,000 in annual value. The thickness of the arrows roughly illustrates relative importance. (Designed by Harold Macfarlane.)

compilation has very clearly revealed the justice of the demand made in various quarters for a common system to control the official preparation of imperial statistics generally, for (to take a single illustration) under existing arrangements, in the absence of co-ordination, the returns made from any two parts of the Empire as to the value of trade taking place between them often diverge widely, and may even be irreconcilable, owing to the adoption of different methods in computing or presenting them.

Oversea Communications

The North Atlantic.

Certain geographical factors in connexion with the principal oversea trade-routes of the Empire may be briefly considered. The North Atlantic waterway between the British Isles and Canada is unique among great trade-routes in necessitating different termini at the Canadian end in summer and in winter. The river St. Lawrence is closed by ice in winter, and steamers have to call at St. John's or Halifax (N.S.), ice-free ports. Moreover, the St. Lawrence ports, especially Montreal, stand to modern conditions of shipping in much the same relationship as many estuarine ports elsewhere. 'Increase of size of cargo steamers has been accompanied by reduction in . . . cost per ton mile. The working expenses, including coal, wages, and upkeep, are less per ton carried in the large than in the small steamers.'[1] This consideration creates competition between ports in the provision of accommodation for larger and larger vessels, and connotes success in such competition to those ports where physical conditions are by nature most advantageous, or admit most readily of improvement. It is a tribute to the economic energy of the Canadian national port of Montreal that the St. Lawrence navigation should have been so far improved as to allow vessels of 15,000 tons to steam nearly three days' journey from the open ocean into the interior of eastern Canada. And perhaps the most vivid illustrations of the economic importance

[1] Sir J. H. Biles.

of water-carriage under modern conditions are to be found in the facts that this great river, though closed for sixteen weeks in the year, preserves its vitality as a trade route, and that the grain trade of central Canada has led to preparations for a sea-route, which will be still more restricted in respect of its open season, by way of the sub-arctic waters of Hudson Strait and Bay. The physical disabilities of the St. Lawrence route, however, have been reflected in the high rates for shipping insurance as compared with those ruling in the case of American ports further south, and the consequent diversion of a substantial proportion of Canadian grain to New York for shipment.

The Panama Canal.

The opening of the Panama Canal will lessen by some 6,000 miles the distance by a practicable ocean route between the ports of the United Kingdom and those of the Pacific seaboard of Canada. Even under existing conditions there has been some tendency to transport products of western Canada to Pacific, not to eastern, ports for shipment. The creation of the canal should stimulate the trade of these ports, even though, so far as concerns trade between western Canada and eastern American ports, it should be found that land transport from the Dominion to San Francisco enters into competition.

Routes to Australasia.

The opening of the canal bears also, incidentally, upon the general geographical problem of the trade routes to the Antipodean dominions, Australia and New Zealand. The existing sea routes are those by the Suez Canal, by the Cape of Good Hope (rounding Africa), and by Cape Horn (rounding South America). The table below shows in sea miles (of which 1 = 1·1515 statute mile) the distance by these routes to ports in Australia and New Zealand, to which is added that route which involves the railway crossing of Canada. The figures are for the most part adapted from tables in the *Second Interim Report* of the Dominions Royal Commission mentioned above, and it must be stated that these tables are given in immediate connexion with a discussion on the carriage, not of

merchandise generally, but of mails, and that the English ports named are not necessarily those from which existing steamship lines ply. But, especially so far as concerns the Panama route, these computations of distance are particularly valuable because they take account of deviations

	To Australia.		*To New Zealand.*
	Adelaide.	*Sydney.*	
From Southampton, via Gibraltar, Suez, Colombo	11,010	11,945	12,829 [1]
From Southampton via Teneriffe and Cape Town	11,542	12,477	12,975 [2]
From Liverpool trans-Atlantic, Canada, Pacific (Halifax, Vancouver, Honolulu, Fiji)	—	12,624	12,036 [3]
From Plymouth via Madeira, Rio de Janeiro, Cape Horn . . .	—	—	11,801 [2]
From Bristol via Jamaica, Panama, Tahiti	—	12,585	11,311 [3]

to existing or probable intermediate ports of call, and do not quote, as other computations have, merely the shortest distance, say, between Panama and Sydney, an unbroken voyage which would scarcely be undertaken when convenient coaling or trading stations lie at no great distance from the direct course. It should be mentioned also, in connexion with the routes to New Zealand particularly, that the two Cape routes, bringing shipping within the region of prevalent westerly winds in the middle latitudes of the Southern Hemisphere, are usually combined, vessels steaming (and *a fortiori* sailing, for there remain some sailing vessels in the trade) from England to New Zealand by way of the Cape of Good Hope, and returning by way of Cape Horn. A fuller table of distances, in statute miles, between ports of the Empire and certain other points, will be found on p. 378.

Trade by the Suez and Good Hope routes.

The Suez route carries the mails to Australia, and is that most commonly identified in the minds of travellers with the passenger service thither, since a full week can be saved in time over the steamer-voyage round western

[1] The Bluff, South Island, via Adelaide, Melbourne, and Hobart.
[2] Wellington. [3] Auckland.

Europe, by means of railway transport across Europe to a Mediterranean (Italian) port. Nevertheless, the trans-American route may (with favourable connexions) be equally rapid to eastern Australia or even more so on occasion, and the distances by the various routes differ less than is generally supposed. Considering trade alone, an interesting position is disclosed. The depth of the canal limits the size of vessels using the Suez route, and the largest of these are substantially exceeded in tonnage by a number of vessels using the Cape of Good Hope route ; moreover, the payment of canal dues forms a heavy consideration which does not apply to the latter route. If we take the total tonnage of British liners in the direct Australasian trade from and to the United Kingdom, we shall find that approximately a proportion of 53 per cent. use the Cape of Good Hope route, 33 per cent. the Suez route, and 14 per cent. the Cape Horn route.[1] But as between the outward and homeward services there are wide divergencies. The use of the Cape Horn route is wholly homeward. The Suez route generally saves more time over the Good Hope route on the homeward than on the outward voyage, and it happens that this is important to the export trade from Australia in wool and perishable food-stuffs ; so that whereas the tonnage steaming outward by the Cape of Good Hope outweighs that by Suez by three to one, there is a small balance in favour of the canal on the homeward voyage.

The carriage of the mails, as already indicated, incurs problems in some measure distinct from those associated with trade generally. The natural tendency is towards acceleration in time, and the cheapness of water transport as against land transport does not outweigh this consideration in the case of mails so far as it does in that of merchandise. Therefore the Canadian mails carried by the St. Lawrence route during the open season are transshipped at Rimouski, situated near the lowest point down the St. Lawrence estuary served by a railway.

The carriage of mails.

[1] Adapted from figures for 1912, in Dominions Commission *Report* above cited, Appendix II.

The mails for the Orient and Australasia are conveyed, as has been seen, by train across Europe, and are shipped at Brindisi or Taranto, and thus leave London a week later than the steamers which carry them forward. The South African mail contract is dealt with in the volume (III) on Africa in this series (p. 142). The speed of delivery could not in this case be materially affected by any extension of railway transport within British territory, though it might be so by the establishment of rail connexion between the Egyptian Delta and the Cape. Such connexion, however, could not now be made wholly through Egyptian and British territory, as was contemplated by such supporters of it as Cecil Rhodes and H. H. Johnston, who familiarized the proposal under the title of the 'Cape-to-Cairo'. The Anglo-German agreement of 1890 gave German East Africa a border-line marching with that of the Congo Free State (now Belgian Congo) on either side and to the northward of Lake Tanganyika, and these territories thus interrupt the continuity of British territory between the basins of the Zambezi and the Nile.

Proposals for improvement in Australasian mail services.

But important modifications of the existing conditions of mail service between the mother country and both Canada and Australasia have been of recent years under consideration. The whole matter was discussed at the Imperial Conference in 1911, and has been investigated by the Dominions Commission. At the Conference a movement was made by representatives of New Zealand, Canada, and Newfoundland towards a mail service by an 'all red' or wholly British route passing through the two last territories. Attention has been given to a scheme of establishing a first-class port on the west coast of Ireland. From such a port an Atlantic crossing of 1,600 sea miles to St. John's, Newfoundland, would replace such existing sea-passages as that from Liverpool to Halifax, which, at the season when the shortest course can be followed, is 2,472 sea miles in length. An Ireland-Newfoundland route would involve frequent transhipment—in the case of Australasian mails at two Irish

Sea ports, at the west of Ireland port, at two Newfoundland and two Canadian ports—but this extreme proposal is capable of obvious modification. Mail routes cannot be considered exclusively on their merits as such: the existence or probability of merchandise traffic being obtained of sufficient quantity and character to justify the establishment of a line of large fast steamers is an essential factor. So far as concerns the Atlantic passage, this factor is obviously present and steamers of the type specified exist. Railways crossing the Dominion of Canada are of such calibre that considerable acceleration over existing speeds are no doubt possible—the crossing from Halifax by Montreal, Sudbury, Winnipeg, and Calgary to Vancouver, 3,656 miles, is made at an average speed, including all stops except that at Montreal, of about 28 miles per hour, but taking into account the mountainous and other difficult sections of the line, this speed connotes much faster running over other long sections—for example 34 miles per hour, including stops, over 426 miles between Fort William and Winnipeg. A traffic between Vancouver and New Zealand and Australian ports such as would justify the employment of steamers of the type indicated is more problematical, though even now there is a vessel of 13,500 tons in the service, and the Royal Commission's *Report* already cited states that 'it seems certain that the important commercial exchanges already taking place between Canada and Australasia will be largely developed in manufactured goods and in primary products, the interchange of the latter being influenced by the fact that the seasons of these countries are almost diametrically opposite'.

Land and sea routes; the subsidy question.

When considering this or any other Australasian route primarily as a mail route, it must not be forgotten that the completion of the west-to-east transcontinental line in Australia, giving railway connexion between Fremantle (W.A.), South Australia, and the eastern states, will save about sixty hours over the sea transport from Fremantle to Adelaide, and will give an important advantage to the Suez route as arrangements now stand.

If mails were conveyed to the Persian Gulf over the Bagdad railway, Australia could be reached with an ocean passage from the Gulf of some fifteen days, and if ultimately a European-Indian railway connexion were established, there would be an ocean passage of nine or ten days (the present duration of the voyage between Colombo and Fremantle). But these schemes are no more than possibilities, and, moreover, there are obvious objections (which have been taken to the trans-European section of the existing Australian mail route) to the passage of such route through foreign countries, by means of an expensive land-transport system, when it is not impossible that the land-transport might be through British territories (across North America), or might be dispensed with by bringing into existence a fast steamer service by way of the Cape of Good Hope, or by Panama. It is claimed that vessels of the type required for such a service, necessarily possessing a very large effective steaming radius without recoaling, would be of particular value as naval auxiliaries. And lastly, the Dominions Commission records its preference, so far as concerns the Australasian mail service, either for a division of contract [1] and for latitude as regards choice of route, in order to avoid the creation of a quasi-monopoly, or, if subsidizing to a reasonable amount cannot ensure a substantial accretion of speed over the ordinary merchant service, for the abolition of the contract system and the dispatch of mails at statutory rates.

Imperial telegraphy.

While several trans-Atlantic cables connect Ireland and Britain with Newfoundland and Canada, none is purely under British control, and at the Imperial Conference in 1911 it was urged that a State cable should be laid. This was not undertaken, but in 1913 the British Government took an important step towards the development of an imperial system of wireless telegraphy. A contract was completed by the Postmaster-General and was

[1] Subsidies are paid by the British Government to the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company (£305,000 for the mail services to Australia, India, and China), and by the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia to the Orient Steam Navigation Company (£170,000).

ratified in 1913, with the Marconi Company, to erect, and work for a period of not less than six months or exceeding twelve, wireless stations in England (Leafield and Devizes), Egypt (Cairo and Ismailia), India (Poona), East and South Africa, and Singapore. A payment of £60,000 for each station was contracted for, excluding the site and buildings. The term is for twenty-eight years from the date of the opening of the first three stations, subject to termination at the will of the Government at the end of eighteen years. During the term the company is to receive 10 per cent. of the gross receipts of the stations erected as above, but subject to a reduction if the company's system is replaced by another at any station, while pending the completion of the stations in South Africa, India, and Singapore the Government may cancel the agreement on payment for work done. The Australian and New Zealand Governments have also undertaken wireless telegraphic schemes. A British cable system, under the Eastern Telegraph and the Eastern Extension Companies, connects the mother country with St. Vincent, Ascension and St. Helena Islands, Cape Town, Mauritius, Cocos-Keeling, and Australia. Australia is connected by cable with New Zealand, and the British, Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Governments jointly own a trans-Pacific cable from Australia and New Zealand to Norfolk Island, Fiji, Fanning Island, and Vancouver. The Eastern Company and its extension also work cables running by Malta, Egypt, and the Red Sea to Aden, and thence along the east coast of Africa, to Mauritius, to India, the Straits Settlements, and Hong Kong.

Migration within the Empire

General considerations.

The administrative relations between the State and imperial migration have been dealt with elsewhere (pp. 28 seqq.), but some general considerations may be added. So far as concerns migration within the Empire, the criticisms which are sometimes directed against emigration in principle can scarcely be cogent, other-

wise a primary justification for the foundation of an empire would be lost. Emigration has been attacked on the ground that it draws from the mother country men and women at the period of their best vigour, and leaves behind a disproportionate number of the very old and the very young. On another ground, it is said that emigration tends to draw off the good workers and leave the drones. So far as concerns the first consideration, it cannot be urged that the number of emigrants stands in so high a proportion to the total population as materially to aid in the creation of the condition assumed, except perhaps in Ireland. Here, it may be at once admitted, the position is exceptional and in an imperial sense unfavourable. The stream of emigration from Ireland has probably affected the remaining population in the direction indicated, and, moreover, under political and other influences with which it is no part of this chapter to deal, the greatest stream of emigration (the flow of which, however, has somewhat slackened) has been directed not towards British overseas territories but towards the United States of America.

We may distinguish two broad reasons for emigration, which, however, must obviously in great measure be interacting: (*a*) the excess of supply over demand for labour in many departments, and consequently the inability of the individual to obtain work at home, whatever his qualifications may be; (*b*) the prospect that the individual, by leaving his work at home and taking his labour to an oversea dominion, will be able to improve his earnings and conditions of life. In so far as these two reasons operate individually without interaction, it may be taken that the first applies mainly in the case of trades and professions, the second mainly in the case of agricultural occupation. The emigrating agriculturist, giving up work at home, may be influenced by purely economic considerations, or by geographical considerations as well, if the accident of birth has originally planted him on poor soil. It must not be supposed (as sometimes it is) that the emigrant has a right to expect

to practise overseas the trade or occupation (if any) which he has learned at home. The call from overseas is principally for immigrants who will go upon the land, but those who leave the mother country are not drawn principally from the land but from the towns, and upon every consideration of social well-being it is right that this should be so. On the other hand, considerations which are detailed elsewhere [1] give ground for apprehension regarding the overgrowth of urban in proportion to rural population both in Canada and in Australia, and there has also to be overcome (if, indeed, it be not actually justified) the fear of increased competition in the skilled labour-markets overseas. If, then, land-settlement be taken as the prime object of immigration in the view of the overseas territory, and relief of overcrowding in towns (both in a social and in an economical sense) the prime object of emigration in the view of the mother country, it follows that measures are necessary for the reconciliation of these two objects, which are prima facie in opposition, and it is here that the organization of imperial migration is as yet incomplete.

Control of migration.

It should be possible to lay down that if an emigrant starts for a new country (within the limits of the Empire) without knowing what he has to expect in the way of changed conditions (whether connected with physical environment, or with social conditions, or with the work he is to take up), his ignorance is due to his own default. Opportunities to rectify such ignorance are indeed not actually denied to him, but, on the other hand, they are not always easily come by.

To the Emigrants' Information Office reference has been made elsewhere (p. 30). It is under the direction of the Colonial Office, and in distributing information it is able to make use of post offices, labour exchanges, public libraries, and other local institutions. It publishes not only periodical circulars, but also handbooks on the

[1] See especially the chapters on economic conditions and on population in Canada and Australia, in the volumes of this series dealing with the American (IV) and Australasian (V) territories respectively.

principal overseas territories of the Empire (as well as on certain foreign countries), and it also makes a solid endeavour to cover the whole economic field of emigration from Britain—not only that fraction of it which is occupied by the problems of agricultural and other labour. Thus, it supplies information concerning professions also, and migration among the professional classes presents problems perhaps more difficult and even less systematically attacked than those concerned with the migration of labour. Such institutions as the British Dominions Emigration Society and the Church [of England] Emigration Society can assist migrants not only at the beginning but also at the end of their migration, through organized systems of representatives overseas. Societies like the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Associations, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the Church Army, and the Salvation Army, play important parts, according to their various lights, in the assistance of emigrants. From these and other similar bodies the migrant may look for impartial information and a considered estimate of his prospects; the representative organizations, in the mother country, of overseas dominions whose object is to attract settlers, may be similarly relied upon, even though it be their natural task to make the very best of the prospects they offer. And when the intending emigrant is an applicant for one of the assisted passages which, under conditions, are offered by various colonial governments, an examination of his qualifications and fitness is involved. Even the broker or agent through whom the passages may be booked is under some measure of control; the broker is licensed and under a bond of £1,000, and is legally responsible for the acts of his agents.[1] But in the fitness or unfitness of a client the broker or agent has obviously no controlling concern; while in regard to the prospects offered by the new land in which he is specially interested, extreme optimism is in the language of his brief.

No single organization has yet been brought into the

[1] Dominions Commission *Report*, above cited.

position of a central emigration authority. The training of migrants who possess the will but lack experience to work upon the land is only sporadically attempted, whether in the mother country or overseas, though local and individual efforts have been made with success, and will supply a basis for the future extension of this work. No systematic test of suitability will wholly overcome the personal element, or eliminate that homing instinct which in some instances even the worst of British slums have been found to exercise upon their children overseas. On the other hand, an instance has fallen under the writer's notice of a southern-county agricultural worker who emigrated to Canada, though not ill-to-do at home, and returned after one winter for the single reason that he found it too cold. Perhaps he should have known; perhaps, however, he had lacked, not through his own fault, that schooling in imperial geography which should be an integral part of imperial education.

This instance (trivial as it may appear in itself) points to a geographical problem which from the point of view of migration calls for investigation. In this connexion it may be permissible to refer again to the Dominions Commission *Report*—and the passages quoted are of interest not in this connexion alone but because they incidentally illustrate two most important functions of emigration, by suggesting the possibility of relieving unemployment consequent upon 'blind-alley' employment, and of relieving what may be termed (from the Irish parallel) a 'congested district':

'We would also call attention to the possibility of greater co-operation between Your Majesty's Government and the Governments of Australasia towards the emigration of discharged soldiers from India. Many of these men would, we believe, be willing to go to Australasia, but now find difficulty in doing so, and as they are already accustomed to a climate more trying than that of the northern portions of Australia, they would make suitable settlers. . . . The possibility of developing the northern portions of Australia by migration from countries having a similar climate has not received

adequate attention. The advantage of an influx of white labour already acclimatized is apparent. . . . In Malta alone there is a large body of acclimatized white labour available, and these are British subjects who, as the result of administrative and economic changes, cannot be effectively provided for in that island. The introduction of such people as these would not be inconsistent with the " White Australia " policy. . . . '

—and here the *Report* touches incidentally upon one of the most noteworthy experiments in migration ever contemplated, the settlement of a tropical country with a population wholly white.[1]

Migration of women.[2]

The migration of women constitutes a distinct problem within the major problem of migration generally. A boy may be fit to emigrate independently from the age of sixteen onward ; women are not advised to do so under the age of twenty-three.[3] It is generally supposed that there must be a large number of women in the United Kingdom who are of suitable ages and in appropriate circumstances for emigration ; this supposition is based, naturally enough, on the excess of female over male population exhibited by the census returns for Great Britain (and in a much less degree by those for Ireland), in contrast with the returns for the great oversea dependencies. But the theory is not proven.[4] Nor, perhaps, is it certain that the opportunity for marriage is so much greater in the oversea dominions than at home as is often asserted, though to some degree it must be so ; the position of women in this respect no doubt varies widely in sympathy with their geographical distribution, the conditions in the more densely peopled and older settled parts of the oversea dominions approximating most closely to those at home. The requirements of the dominions in regard to women immigrants vary rather markedly. In Canada there are many opportunities for domestic servants and those who are willing and trained

[1] See the volume (V) on Australasian territories in this series, ch. i, viii, &c. [2] Cf. p. 270.

[3] From a circular issued by the British Women's Emigration Association.

[4] Dominions Commission *Report*, cited p. 11.

to undertake the position (an onerous one judged upon the standard of the mother country) of 'home helps'; also for elementary teachers, for women with medical qualifications (as nurses, &c.), or capable in the higher secretarial duties, and in various other directions. In Australia and New Zealand 'the opportunities are neither as numerous, nor as varied, as in Canada, but there is a demand for fully trained nurses, highly qualified governesses and teachers, and efficient home helps'.[1] The demand for domestic service appears, however, to exceed the supply wherever the service of white women is employed (which is no matter for wonder when the service is the reverse of overcrowded at home); the immigrating domestic servant is welcomed as *dea ex machinâ*—indeed, that phrase may understate the case, for the Australian housewife is stated sometimes to engage servants by wireless telegraphic message to the ship which is bringing them.

Non-British migration.

By the expression 'non-British migration' it appears necessary (for want of a better) to designate those great and important movements which have taken and still take place principally from the Indian Empire to other British territories, and have established not a few problems of their own. We find the presence of immigrant Indian populations giving rise to serious political and economic questions in so diverse territories as South Africa (principally Natal) and British Columbia. To South Africa Indians were admitted under indentures as early as 1860, and it was not until towards the end of the century, when Indians had established themselves in independent economic positions and come into direct competition with white traders (whose numbers and interests had in the meantime expanded), that the question of their relations became acute. A situation not dissimilar is found in British Columbia, where, however, it forms part of the wider problem of dealing with Asiatic immigration generally, which is discussed in volume IV (chap. VII). It can scarcely be a matter for wonder if British

[1] Dominions Commission *Report*, cited, p. 11.

administration does not immediately succeed, in territories outside the Indian Empire, in learning the lessons which successive generations of civil servants have learned within that Empire, even if it were possible to work (as it is not) with a single eye to those lessons. On the other hand, examples are found in British Guiana and West Indian islands where, for three-quarters of a century, immigration of Indian labourers has been carried on with benefit both to themselves and to the territories concerned, and without serious dissensions. It would appear that the forces controlling the success or non-success (whether temporary or ultimate) of Indian immigration may be thus summarized—that success is attained provided that the immigrants are entering a territory which will suit them by its climatic and other geographical similarity to their native country, that they are inducted under a carefully-controlled indenture system, and that they do not enter into direct economic competition either with white men or with a native race with which their relations are antagonistic (as they are, for example, between the Indians and the native labourers in Fiji).

It would serve no useful purpose here to tabulate the sources, other than the mother country, from which various parts of the Empire are populated. They are indicated in their appropriate places throughout this series. Many of the foreign-born inhabitants of British territory acquire a full sense of the citizenship of the Empire and all that it implies. Among many more, from Chinese in far eastern territories to such self-contained communities as the Dukhobors in western Canada, that sense of citizenship, if it can be said to exist at all, stops short at appreciation of a system of law and order under which they can live in peace and, according to their various lights, in economic prosperity: it is one of the highest tributes to the success (and, in particular, the adaptability) of British administration that they are so generally able to do so.

Conclusion

The age of the Empire.

From the foregoing paragraphs, and from other sections of this volume, it is deducible that certain great departments of imperial organization have yet to be organized imperially. The political evolution of the Empire, including as it does the granting of self-government to great oversea dominions, has proceeded along lines which dictate that in many matters the national house must be set in order before the imperial mansion. Nor need this make for evil. In this aspect the history of the Empire may be compared to the life of a man, and, so compared, it appears to have passed through the period of childhood, of character scarcely formed, and of passions ill-regulated, perhaps, but not wanting in favourable augury for the future formation of character; the first lessons have been learned; the later are in the learning, and the principles they inculcate begin to be applied; the Empire, if the simile holds true, is in the period of early manhood.

Geographical basis of the study of the Empire.

It is a necessary preliminary to imperial organization, in whatever department, that those on whom the task falls (and it may fall not on individuals only but on generations) should possess some organized knowledge of the Empire. To supply an outline of such knowledge has been the object of this survey. In its volumes there are many sections in which neither the subjects nor even the basis of their treatment are to be termed geographical. Yet the basis of the whole work is geographical, not merely in the sense that an empire (or any of its component units) is a geographical expression, but on the wider consideration which dictates the study of a country first in its strictly physical aspects, next in those of its natural wealth, and then, and not until then, in regard to its inhabitants, whose function is to turn that wealth to use, and whose manner of life is constantly under the control of the natural conditions previously described. The geographical outlook is not concerned solely with the enumeration and tabulation of territories, towns,

mountains, rivers, and lakes, or with the description of the Empire in terms of a series of formulae (as, for example, that the sun never sets on it), or with a parade of vast figures of dimension, difficult of comprehension for lack of a standard of comparison. Instead, standards of comparison must be set up throughout, not only by means of statistical tables, but by affording or suggesting material for a regional view[1]; for it is more profitable to view the territories of the Empire regionally, classifying them according to a common scale of climatic and other natural conditions, than to consider them merely in relation to meridians and parallels and political frontiers. Such a view of the whole subject must needs be broad, and in no part composed of minute details, but upon the geographical background, as here laid down, it is possible to range in perspective the main facts of cognate sciences, natural, economic, and political.

[1] Cf. p. 64.

Drew Theological Seminary Library

GENERAL STATISTICS

AND STATISTICAL DIAGRAMS

By Harold Macfarlane

AGRICULTURE

Approximate Production of British Empire (in millions)

	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.
Wheat (bush.)	410·0	452·9	376·6	431·9	410·6	470·6	572·2	458·2
Brit. Ind. % of total	65·6	56·3	53·1	61·1	55·2	63·1	62·7	61·8
Barley (bush.)	92·4	99·4	101·8	96·3	96·0	112·8	108·1	107·7
U.K. % of total	78·5	75·1	73·1	71·1	70·3	65·9	60·4	57·9
Tea (lb.)	270·7	278·3	311·7	347·6	338·4	339·4	362·0	382·6
Brit. Ind. % of total	56·8	56·6	58·3	56·8	56·5	55·5	57·7	57·9
Cacao (lb.)	39·2	42·7	48·1	51·4	55·0	68·5	64·3	79·4
Gold Coast* % of total	0·4	1·0	1·4	2·3	3·9	7·8	7·9	14·4
Coffee (lb.)	39·1	42·6	36·0	40·0	35·8	53·0	48·0	45·0
Brit. Ind. % of total	61·3	55·3	48·9	53·7	43·5	56·7	58·3	64·6
Raw sugar (cane, cwt.)	—	54·3	49·6	56·6	54·0	50·3	49·9	57·8
Brit. Ind. % of total	—	76·4	75·0	80·4	74·9	75·7	74·9	75·0
Rubber (lb.)	12·8	13·4	12·0	8·8	5·0	4·0	5·3	9·1
Fed. Malay States* % of total	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Cotton (lb.)	992·0	1,209·0	438·0	1,183·0	1,099·0	1,348·0	1,266·0	1,520·0
Brit. Ind. (lb.)	989·0	1,206·0	436·0	1,181·0	1,098·0	1,347·0	1,264·0	1,516·0
Uganda* (lb.)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wool (lb.):								
Australia (greasy)	440*	455*	468·0	409·0	543·0	413·0	414·0	474·0
New Zealand (greasy)	136*	149*	164·0	156·0	164·0	167·0	177·0	181·0
U.K.	139·0	139·0	140·0	141·0	138·0	136·0	133·0	132·0
S. Africa*	82·0	98·0	90·0	30·0	76·0	89·0	77·0	75·0

	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Wheat (bush.)	564·7	577·7	433·4	544·3	693·5	669·4	722·3
Brit. Ind. % of total	56·5	54·8	52·6	52·3	51·7	54·6	51·2
Barley (bush.)	112·0	120·7	118·4	117·7	125·6	96·6	117·5
U.K. % of total	58·0	55·9	56·5	52·3	54·8	65·2	49·0
Tea (lb.)	398·4	413·5	427·6	429·8	453·0	447·6	460·4
Brit. Ind. % of total	55·6	58·3	57·2	57·5	57·0	58·8	58·3
Cacao (lb.)	87·1	72·2	103·4	107·2	133·5	143·5	181·6
Gold Coast* % of total	13·1	27·8	20·2	26·6	34·6	35·3	49·0
Coffee (lb.)	47·0	29·9	47·8	45·9	39·0	47·6	36·5
Brit. Ind. % of total	66·2	59·5	69·0	73·6	70·7	73·5	73·9
Raw sugar (cane, cwt.)	47·3	59·5	55·8	51·5	56·9	61·3	63·5
Brit. Ind. % of total	72·9	74·1	73·2	72·6	74·6	72·2	77·2
Rubber (lb.)	9·8	11·1	12·0	9·6	15·0	25·7	37·8
Fed. Malay States* % of total	2·4	9·3	16·6	33·3	40·6	47·5	52·1
Cotton (lb.)	1,371·0	1,982·0	1,261·0	1,487·0	1,900·0	1,557·0	1,335·0
Brit. Ind. (lb.)	1,366·0	1,974·0	1,249·0	1,477·0	1,887·0	1,541·0	1,315·0
Uganda* (lb.)	—	0·4	1·6	1·6	2·6	5·5	8·3
Wool (lb.):							
Australia (greasy)	522·0	578·0	690·0	642·0	718·0	793·0	767·0
New Zealand (greasy)	172·0	189·0	208·0	200·0	224·0	204·0*	169·0*
U.K.	131·0	130·0	131·0	134·0	142·0	143·0	136·0
S. Africa*	77·0	89·0†	98·0	104·0	131·0	122·0	132·0

* Domestic Exports. † Until 1906, exports via Delagoa Bay and Beira were excluded.

FORESTS OF THE EMPIRE

	Total Forest Area in square miles.	*% of total area of country.*
Canada	836,000	22·33
Australia	159,375	5·35
British India	128,890	11·74
New Zealand	26,678	25·65
United Kingdom	4,800	3·96
Cape Province	537	0·19

MINERALS

PRODUCTION IN BRITISH EMPIRE (IN MILLIONS)

	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.
Coal (tons)	216·0	217·0	237·0	244·0	241·0	251·0	256·0	260·0
Value (£)	64·0	69·0	89·0	129·0	111·0	103·0	98·0	93·0
U.K. (£)	60·0	64·0	83·0	122·0	102·0	94·0	88·0	84·0
Pig-iron (tons)	8·8	8·7	9·5	9·0	8·2	9·0	9·2	8·9
U.K.	8·79	8·6	9·4	8·9	7·9	8·7	8·9	8·7
Diamonds (£)	4·5	4·6	4·1	3·4	4·9	5·5	5·5	6·5
Gold (oz.)	3·5	4·3	5·5	5·7	6·0	7·6	9·3	10·0
Value (£)	14·4	17·9	22·9	23·7	25·0	31·9	38·9	41·7
Transvaal (£)	—	—	—	—	1·1 †	7·3	12·7	16·0
Australia (£)	9·8	11·7	14·5	13·5	14·0	14·8	16·3	15·9
Silver * (£)	0·98	0·86	0·8	1·0	1·1	0·97	0·9	1·0
Canada	0·7	0·5	0·4	0·56	0·67	0·46	0·35	0·4
Copper (£)	1·58	1·76	2·74	3·19	4·13	2·8	3·4	3·3
Australia	0·86	0·94	1·63	1·87	2·18	1·5	1·8	1·7
Tin (£)	3·3	3·5	5·8	6·9	6·6	6·6	7·6	7·8
Fed. Malay S.	2·8	2·9	4·8	5·8	5·7	5·6	6·3	6·4

	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Coal (tons)	265·0	284·0	305·0	301·0	301·0	307·0	314·0
Value (£)	92·0	103·0	134·0	132·0	120·0	124·0	126·0
U.K. (£)	82·0	92·0	121·0	117·0	106·0	108·0	111·0
Pig-iron (tons)	10·0	10·7	10·7	9·6	10·2	10·8	10·4
U.K.	9·6	10·2	10·1	9·0	9·5	10·0	9·5
Diamonds (£)	6·8	9·3	9·0	4·8	6·4	8·5	8·3
Gold (oz.)	11·1	11·9	12·1	12·7	12·8	12·7	13·2
Value (£)	46·6	49·6	50·7	53·5	54·0	53·6	55·9
Transvaal (£)	20·8	24·6	27·4	29·9	31·0	32·0	35·0
Australia (£)	15·5	14·6	13·5	13·0	12·6	11·5	10·5
Silver * (£)	1·4	2·0	3·0	3·4	3·8	4·4	4·35
Canada	0·74	1·16	1·7	2·4	2·9	3·6	3·57
Copper (£)	4·4	6·2	6·6	4·7	4·3	4·4	4·6
Australia	2·2	3·3	3·5	2·4	2·3	2·4	2·6
Tin (£)	8·8	10·7	10·5	8·7	8·5	9·0	11·1
Fed. Malay States §	7·1	8·3	8·1	6·6	6·4	6·7	8·1

† May–December.

* Exclusive of silver contained in silver lead bullion and ore obtained in the Commonwealth.

§ Domestic Exports.

GOLD PRODUCTION OF THE WORLD AND BRITISH EMPIRE

	World. Mill. £.	*Transvaal. % of total.*	*Australia. % of total.*	*Brit. Empire. % of total.*
1901 . .	54·0	2·03	25·9	46·29
1902 . .	61·0	11·97	24·27	52·3
1903 . .	67·0	18·8	24·31	58·0
1904 . .	72·0	22·25	22·08	57·9
1905 . .	77·0	27·08	20·19	60·5
1906 . .	83·0	29·6	17·6	59·7
1907 . .	84·5	32·4	15·97	59·99
1908 . .	91·0	32·9	14·35	58·8
1909 . .	94·5	32·8	13·34	57·1
1910 . .	93·0	34·4	12·43	57·5
1911 . .	94·5	37·0	11·16	59·1

SHIPPING OF THE EMPIRE

TOTAL NET TONNAGE ENTERED AND CLEARED, EXCLUDING COASTING TRADE (IN 1,000,000 TONS)

	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.	*Av.* 1907–11.	*% of total*
British Empire .	262·0	266·0	280·0	297·0	293·0	306·0	325·0	334·0	311·0	100·0
United Kingdom .	108·0	112·0	121·0	133·0	131·0	133·0	134·0	139·0	134·0	43·1
Canada . .	15·8	15·6	16·8	19·5	19·8	20·8	22·3	24·5	21·4	6·9
Straits Setts.* .	17·0	17·6	18·5	18·7	19·6	20·1	21·4	21·9	20·3	6·5
West Indies .	12·1	13·1	13·7	14·3	14·4	15·5	18·1	20·7	16·6	5·3
Hong Kong † .	19·3	19·8	19·8	20·4	20·1	20·2	21·0	20·5	20·4	6·7
British India ‡ .	13·9	12·6	13·8	14·2	12·9	14·6	14·9	16·6	14·6	4·7
Ceylon . .	11·2	11·2	13·3	13·3	13·9	14·0	14·8	14·9	14·2	4·6
Un. of S. Africa §	14·8	13·9	12·9	10·8	10·6	11·7	10·2	10·9	10·8	3·5
Australia . .	6·7	7·4	8·0	8·8	8·6	8·5	9·3	10·0	9·0	2·9
Other Possessions	43·2	42·8	42·2	44·0	42·1	47·6	59·0	55·0	49·7	15·8

* Including Labuan. † Excluding Chinese junks. ‡ Including native craft.
§ Gross tonnage of steam vessels 1904–6, exclusive of inter-provincial shipping 1910–11.

SHIPPING OF THE EMPIRE

1. NET TONNAGE OF SAILING AND STEAM VESSELS BUILT, EXCLUSIVE OF WAR VESSELS (1,000 TONS)

	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Brit. Emp. .	1,020	1,010	825	952	1,087	1,197	1,116	652	671	752	1,165
U.K. . .	972	950	758	882	1,038	1,148	1,037	593	620	698	1,108

Of the world's output of shipping (average 1910–12) the United Kingdom accounts for 62 per cent.

2. NET TONNAGE OF VESSELS ON THE REGISTER (1,000,000 TONS)

Brit. Emp. .	11·1	11·56	11·83	12·1	12·3	12·8	13·2	13·3	13·3	13·36	13·5
U.K. . .	9·6	10·0	10·3	10·5	10·7	11·17	11·48	11·54	11·58	11·55	11·7
% of total .	86·5	86·5	87·06	86·78	87·0	87·24	86·96	86·76	87·06	86·46	86·68

Of the world's total shipping (vessels of 100 tons and upwards) in 1912 the British Empire owned 44 per cent.

PORTS OF THE EMPIRE

NET TONNAGE OF VESSELS ENGAGED IN THE FOREIGN TRADE ENTERED AND CLEARED

	1901. *Mill. tons.*	1911. *Mill. tons.*	% *of increase or decrease,* 1901–11.	*Average,* 1907–11.
Hong Kong (China)	17·0	22·27	+31·0	22·48
London (Eng.)	17·27	20·97	+21·4	20·1
Liverpool (Eng.)	12·63	14·76	+16·9	14·74
Cardiff (Wales)	12·06	13·84	+14·8	14·46
Singapore (Straits S.)	10·55	15·44	+46·3	14·2
Colombo (Ceylon)	8·22	14·14	+72·0	13·3
Gibraltar	8·33	11·7	+40·5	10·32
Valletta (Malta)	7·07	8·2	+16·0	7·98
Aden	5·4	7·18	+32·9	6·74
Glasgow (Scot.)	3·82	5·55	+45·3	4·8
Durban (S. Africa)	3·58	6·21	+73·5	4·72
Calcutta (Ind.)	3·61	4·14	+14·6	3·46
Bombay (Ind.)	2·43	3·73	+53·5	3·46
Cape Town (S. Africa)	6·28 †	4·147	−34·0	3·44
Montreal (Canada)	2·1	3·4	+61·9	2·98
Victoria (Brit. Col.)	1·96	3·6	+84·7	2·96
Halifax (Can.)	1·6	3·1	+93·7	2·46
Sydney (Aus.)	1·47 *	1·935	+31·7	1·76
Fremantle (Aus.)	0·89 *	1·41	+57·8	1·2
Auckland (N. Z.)	0·73	1·21	+66·1	0·98
Belfast (Irel.)	0·673	0·616	− 8·5	0·65

* 1904: until this year inter-state shipping was included in the return.

† Including *gross* tonnage of steam vessels.

A COMPARISON OF WORLD AND BRITISH EMPIRE PRODUCTIONS

	World Product.	*British Empire.*	% *of World product.*
Wheat (av. 1908–11, mill. bush.)	3,464·0	657·0	18·97
Cotton (av. 1908–11, mill. lb.)	7,250·0	1,569·0	21·6
Cane sugar (av. 1907–11, mill. cwt.)	154·0	57·8	37·0
Cocoa (census year 1911, mill. lb.)	529·0	181·6	34·0
Coffee „ „ „	1,926·0	36·5	1·9
Tea „ „ „	765·0	460·4	59·0
Coal „ „ mill. tons avoir.)	1,050·0	314·3	30·0
Copper (1910, 1,000 tons)	917·5	77·6	8·46
Tin (1910, 1,000 tons)	114·8	59·54	51·84
Iron (1910, mill. tons)	6·3	5·73	9·0
Zinc (1910, 1,000 tons)	910·0	191·0	21·0

RAILWAYS OF THE EMPIRE

	1901. *Miles.*	1911. *Miles.*	*Inc.*% 1901–11.	*Mileage per* 1,000 *sq.m. of territory.*
India	25,365	32,839	29·6	18·52
Canada	18,693	26,624	42·3	7·13
United Kingdom	22,078	23,417	6·0	192·9
Commonwealth of Australia	13,535	18,009	33·0	6·0
Union of S. Africa	4,416 *	8,092	83·2	17·1
Queensland	2,903	4,390	51·3	6·5
New South Wales	2,927	4,024	37·6	13·0
Victoria	3,221	3,574	11·0	41·0
W. Australia	1,982	3,208	61·8	3·29
New Zealand	2,323	2,837	22·1	27·0
Rhodesia	962	2,328	142·0	5·3
S. Australia	1,736	1,993	14·8	5·2
Newfoundland	656	770	17·4	18·0
Tasmania	620	675	8·8	25·7
British E. Africa	584	585	23·28	2·37
Ceylon	297	578	94·3	22·8
Federated Malay States	149	559	275·2	20·3
N. Nigeria	—	370	—	1·27
S. Nigeria	124	307	147·6	3·8
Sierra Leone	76	255	235·5	10·2
Gold Coast	40	188	370·0	2·34
Jamaica	185	185	—	44·0
Northern Territory (Australia)	145	145	—	0·27
Mauritius	104	130	25·0	180·0
British N. Borneo	90	130	44·4	4·2
Nyasaland	—	113	—	2·9
British Guiana	95	95	—	1·0
Trinidad	81	81	—	48·0
Cyprus	—	61	—	17·0
Uganda (1912)	—	54	—	0·24
Barbados	28	28	—	168·0
British Honduras	—	25	—	2·9
Hong Kong	—	22	—	56·3
Straits Settlements	—	20	—	13·0
Labuan	10	9	—	300·0
Malta	8	8	—	68·0
Zanzibar	—	7	—	7·0
Total	89,659 *	118,030	31·6	10·4

* Including Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Basutoland, not at that date annexed.

TOTAL TRADE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE, 1897–11

(IN £1,000,000)

TRADE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	190
Imports . .	441·6	468·9	476·0	527·0	522·4	530·3	549·7	550
Exports . .	320·5	334·7	348·4	361·8	353·3	353·2	387·7	403
Total Foreign Trade . .	762·1	803·6	824·4	888·8	875·7	883·5	937·4	953
% of total trade	75·3	75·3	74·7	75·6	74·7	74·0	73·6	73

	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Imports . .	563·5	611·3	659·5	611·8	655·8	712·8	732·9
Exports . .	447·4	518·6	578·1	514·8	545·4	604·4	619·3
Total Foreign Trade . .	1,010·9	1,129·9	1,237·6	1,126·6	1,201·2	1,317·2	1,352·2
% of total trade	74·0	74·1	74·2	75·0	75·3	74·1	73·6

TRADE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM WITH OTHER PARTS OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE (EXCLUDI DIAMONDS IMPORTED FROM THE CAPE)

	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	190
Imports . .	121·0	126·9	129·7	121·3	121·4	124·6	140·3	151
Exports . .	97·0	99·5	107·8	116·0	125·1	129·3	131·0	136

	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Imports . .	160·8	178·5	195·4	169·2	186·4	213·5	215·5
Exports . .	136·3	153·3	168·8	150·5	150·8	180·7	192·4

INTER-COLONIAL TRADE (IMPORTS ALONE GIVEN, AS THE IMPORTS OF ONE COLONY APPEAR IN THE TRADE RETURNS AS THE EXPORTS OF ANOTHER COLONY)

	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	190
Imports . .	32·0	36·5	41·8	48·8	50·7	56·4	64·8	63

	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
Imports . .	58·2	64·0	65·3	56·3	57·8	65·8	77·5

TOTAL INTER-IMPERIAL TRADE

	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904
	250·0	262·9	279·3	286·1	297·2	310·3	336·1	351
% of total .	24·7	24·7	25·3	24·4	25·3	26·0	26·4	26

	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
	355·3	395·8	429·5	376·0	395·0	460·0	485·4
% of total .	26·0	25·9	25·8	25·0	24·7	25·9	26·4

GRAND TOTAL OF TRADE

1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.
1,012·3	1,066·5	1,103·8	1,174·9	1,173·0	1,193·8	1,273·6	1,304·1

1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
1,366·2	1,525·7	1,667·2	1,502·7	1,596·3	1,777·2	1,837·6

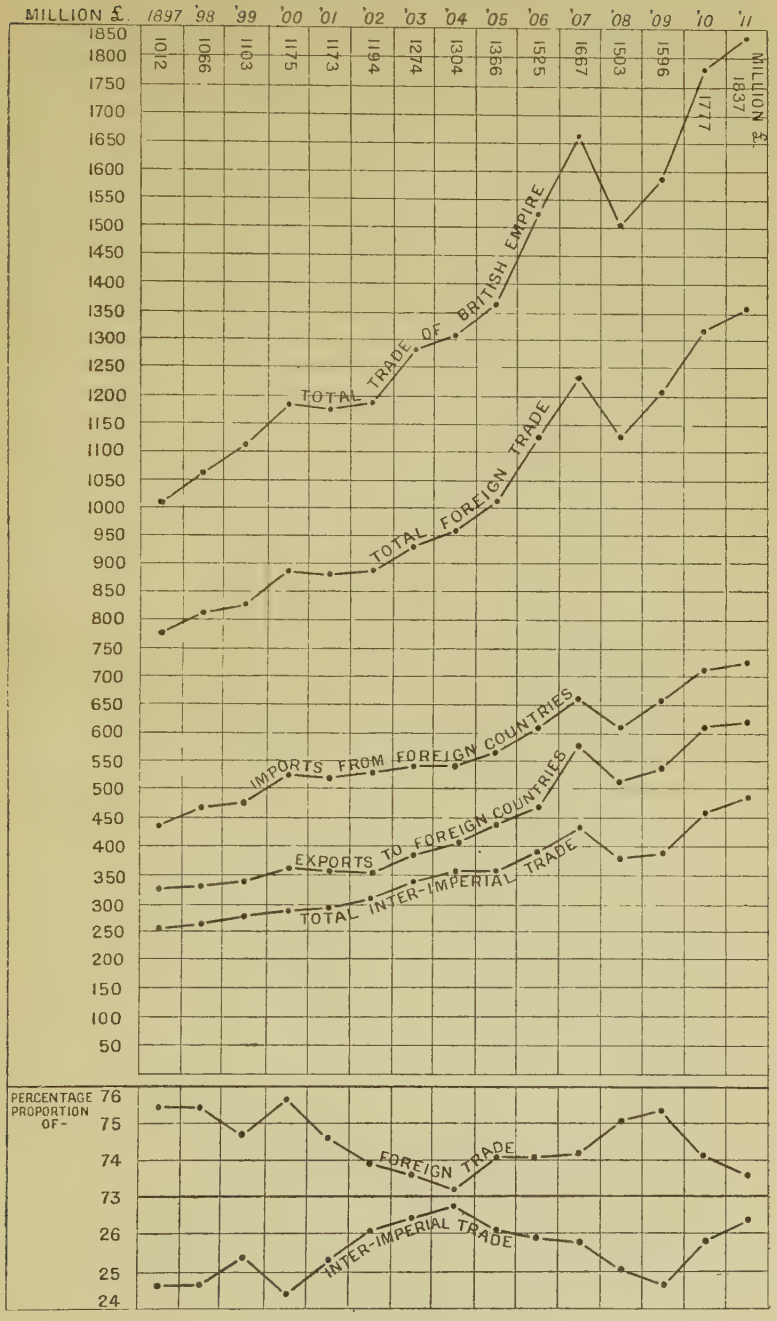
MILLION £
1897 '98 '99 '00 '01 '02 '03 '04 '05 '06 '07 '08 '09 '10 '11
1012 1066 1103 1175 1173 1194 1274 1304 1356 1525 1667 1503 1596 1777 1837
MILLION £
TOTAL TRADE OF BRITISH EMPIRE
TOTAL FOREIGN TRADE
IMPORTS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES
EXPORTS TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES
TOTAL INTER-IMPERIAL TRADE
PERCENTAGE PROPORTION OF-
FOREIGN TRADE
INTER-IMPERIAL TRADE

FIG. 3. Total Trade of the Empire, 1897–1911

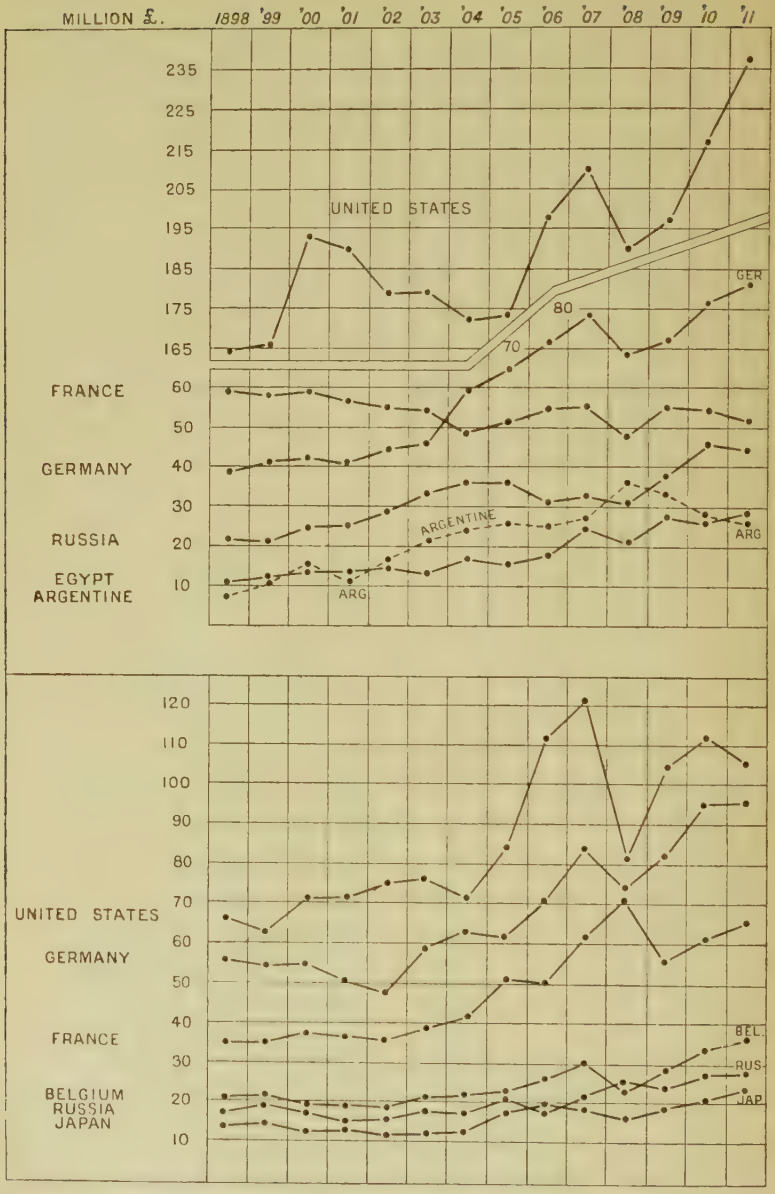

FIG. 4. Imperial Trade: above, imports from, and below, exports to, principal Foreign Countries.

TRADE OF BRITISH EMPIRE WITH PRINCIPAL FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Imports, 1898–1911 (in £1,000,000)

	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
United States	164·8	165·2	193·7	190·8	178·3	179·2	171·9	173·2	198·7	209·7	190·2	197·9	216·8	235·9
% of total foreign imp.	35·14	34·7	36·76	36·53	33·62	32·6	31·25	30·73	32·53	31·8	31·09	30·18	30·42	32·18
Germany	39·2	40·2	42·9	41·8	43·8	46·1	60·2	65·8	71·0	78·0	68·9	72·6	82·1	87·4
%	8·36	8·44	8·14	8·0	8·26	8·38	10·95	11·68	11·62	11·82	11·27	11·08	11·52	11·92
France	59·8	58·3	59·3	56·2	55·3	54·0	49·3	51·3	55·3	57·0	48·4	56·6	56·7	52·5
%	12·76	12·25	11·26	10·76	10·42	9·82	8·96	9·1	9·04	8·64	7·91	8·62	7·95	7·16
Russia	21·0	20·5	24·0	24·4	27·6	32·9	35·6	36·4	31·8	33·3	30·3	38·7	44·5	43·9
%	4·47	4·3	4·55	4·67	5·2	5·98	6·47	6·45	5·2	5·04	4·95	5·9	6·24	5·99
Egypt	10·6	11·6	13·5	13·6	15·3	14·0	18·0	17·9	18·1	26·4	21·2	28·6	27·8	28·3
%	2·26	2·43	2·56	2·6	2·88	2·54	3·27	3·17	2·96	4·0	3·46	4·36	3·89	3·86
Argentine	8·0	11·3	13·6	12·9	16·3	23·1	25·0	26·8	25·7	27·4	36·6	33·2	29·6	28·0
%	1·7	2·37	2·58	2·47	3·07	4·2	4·54	4·75	4·2	4·15	5·98	5·06	4·15	3·82

Exports, 1898–1911 (in £1,000,000)

United States	66·0	62·6	70·5	70·5	75·8	77·8	72·1	83·6	112·0	120·1	81·5	105·0	110·6	105·0
% of total foreign exp.	19·72	17·97	19·48	19·95	21·46	20·06	17·88	18·68	21·6	20·77	15·82	19·25	18·3	16·94
Germany	55·9	53·7	54·0	50·0	47·4	58·0	63·3	61·6	70·7	84·4	74·8	81·9	95·2	96·5
%	16·7	15·4	14·9	14·15	13·4	14·96	15·7	13·74	13·32	14·6	14·52	15·0	15·75	15·57
France	35·8	35·7	38·0	37·1	36·7	39·4	41·0	51·2	50·6	61·8	73·4	57·0	61·0	64·4
%	10·7	10·24	10·51	10·5	10·4	10·16	10·17	11·45	9·76	10·69	14·25	10·45	10·09	10·4
Belgium	20·1	20·3	18·8	18·2	18·2	20·7	20·8	21·7	26·4	30·4	24·6	29·9	33·3	36·0
%	6·0	5·82	5·19	5·15	5·15	5·34	5·16	4·85	5·09	5·26	4·77	5·48	5·5	5·81
Russia	16·8	19·7	17·6	15·0	15·2	17·8	17·3	20·0	19·1	21·1	25·9	23·5	27·0	27·5
%	5·0	5·65	4·86	4·25	4·3	4·59	4·29	4·47	3·68	3·65	4·95	4·3	4·46	4·44
Japan	12·8	13·4	12·4	13·3	11·6	11·8	12·6	18·5	19·7	19·4	16·7	19·4	20·7	24·7
%	3·82	3·84	3·42	3·76	3·28	3·04	3·12	4·13	3·8	3·35	3·19	3·55	3·42	3·99

TRADE WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

Principal Importing and Exporting Divisions of the British Empire

1. Imports (in £1,000,000)

	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
U.K. imp. from for. co.	378·7	402.0	400·5	441·3	432·8	435·1	441·3	444·8	455·8	492·7	523·5	480·2	504·8	536·1	527·6
% of tot. imp.	85·76	85·74	84·14	83·73	82·85	82·06	80·26	80·87	80·9	80·6	79·36	78·48	76·98	75·19	72·0
Canada	18·0	21·7	25·2	28·8	29·5	32·5	36·1	38·1	39·7	43·3	53·0	45·9	57·5	70·4	86·7
%	4·0	4·6	5·3	5·46	5·64	6·13	6·56	6·9	7·04	7·08	8·03	7·5	8·77	9·87	11·83
India	14·7	15·6	16·9	19·0	19·5	18·4	20·2	24·2	25·0	26·1	32·0	29·6	34·7	38·0	41·9
%	3·33	3·33	3·55	3·6	3·7	3·47	3·67	4·4	4·43	4·27	4·85	4·84	5·29	5·3	5·72
Australia	7·4	7·1	9·1	11·4	12·4	11·4	13·0	10·0	9·9	11·4	13·2	18·3	18·7	22·0	26·3
%	1·67	1·5	1·9	2·16	2·4	2·15	2·36	1·81	1·75	1·86	2·0	2·99	2·85	3·08	3·59
Brit. S. Africa	5·6	5·3	5·2	4·8	6·0	11·2	15·8	9·0	8·4	9·2	8·0	7·9	8·9	11·4	12·2
%	1·26	1·13	1·09	0·9	1·14	2·1	2·8	1·6	1·49	1·5	1·21	1·29	1·35	1·6	1·66

2. Exports (in £1,000,000)

U.K.	246·7	246·7	257·3	270·3	248·8	246·1	268·6	281·1	316·6	368·8	416·9	369·4	378·7	418·2	421·5
% of tot. exp. to for. co.	75·9	73·7	73·8	74·7	70·4	69·6	69·3	69·7	70·8	71·12	72·11	71·7	69·4	69·2	68·0
British India	32·2	40·6	39·4	36·9	48·1	49·4	57·5	60·4	64·2	69·5	72·0	63·6	76·4	85·6	93·6
%	9·9	12·14	11·31	10·2	13·61	13·98	14·85	14·98	14·34	13·4	12·46	12·35	14·0	14·16	15·1
Canada	11·4	11·0	11·1	15·8	17·1	17·0	17·2	17·4	18·4	23·1	27·2	23·5	28·0	29·4	29·8
%	3·5	3·2	3·1	4·3	4·83	4·8	4·4	4·3	4·1	4·44	4·7	4·56	5·13	4·86	4·8
Australia	8·9	13·1	14·4	12·1	12·5	11·5	12·7	14·7	17·6	23·0	25·7	25·6	25·2	28·5	28·3
%	2·7	3·9	4·1	3·3	3·5	3·2	3·27	3·6	3·9	4·4	4·44	4·97	4·6	4·7	4·56
Straits S.	11·1	11·8	12·7	13·5	13·6	14·1	14·4	14·4	14·6	17·0	16·6	14·3	15·4	16·9	18·0
%	3·4	3·5	3·6	3·7	3·8	3·99	3·7	3·57	3·26	2·28	2·87	2·77	2·8	2·79	2·9

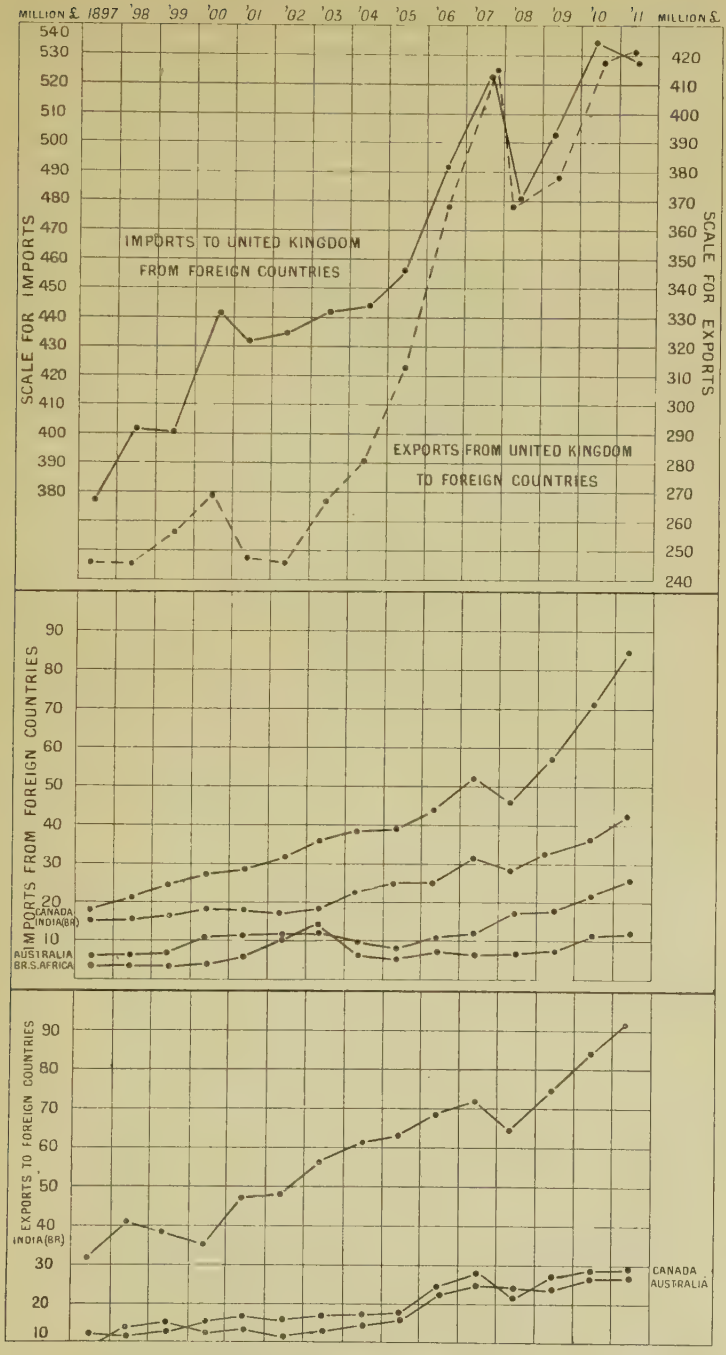

FIG. 5. Trade with Foreign Countries (United Kingdom, India, Canada, Australia, Union of S. Africa).

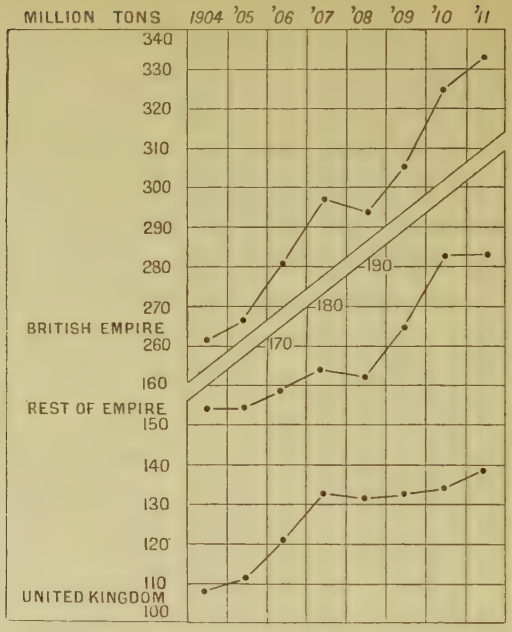

FIG. 6. Total tonnage of Shipping, entered and cleared, exclusive of coasting trade.

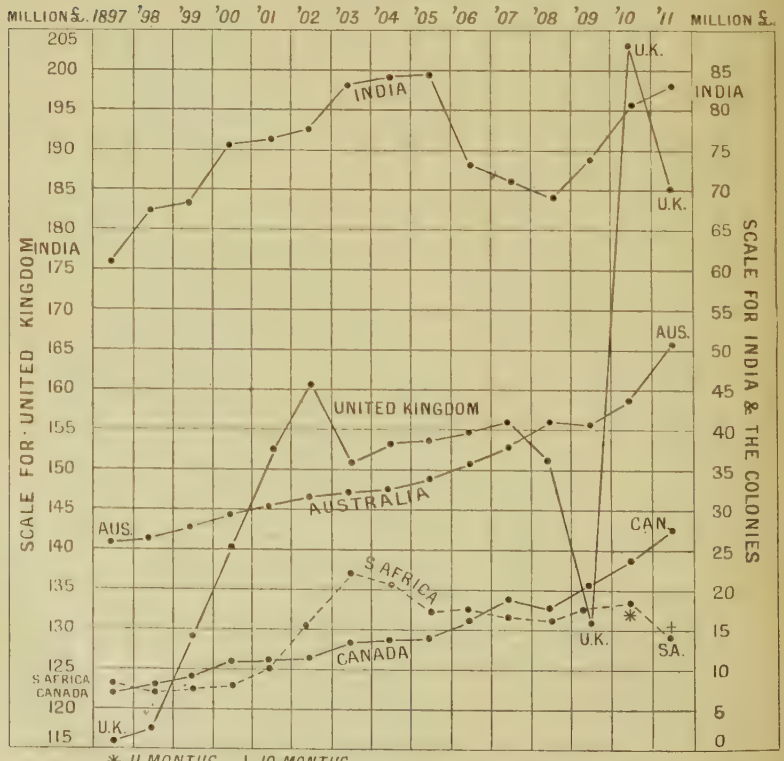

FIG. 7. Revenue of principal divisions of the Empire.

DENSITY OF POPULATION OF BRITISH EMPIRE, 1911

	Inhab. per sq. m.		*Inhab. per sq. m.*
Gibraltar	10,197·0	Cyprus	76·4
Malta	1,808·0	Dependencies of Mauritius	75·0
Hong Kong	1,125·0	St. Helena	74·0
Barbados	1,036·0	Sierra Leone	56·3
Bermuda	999·0	Gambia	40·4
Aden	577·0	BRITISH EMPIRE	36·8
Wei-hai-wei	516·0	N. Nigeria	36·2
I. of Man and Channel Is.	513·5	Basutoland	34·6
Mauritius	512·0	Turks and Caicos Is.	33·8
Grenada	502·0	Nyasaland	24·4
Straits Settlements	455·2	Gold Coast	18·7
St. Kitts	404·0	Fiji	18·0
Montserrat	379·0	Swaziland	15·3
United Kingdom	373·3	Bahamas	12·7
St. Vincent	299·0	Uganda	12·7
Nevis	259·0	Union of S. Africa	12·6
Labuan	233·8	Ascension	11·8
Pemba Is.	218·0	British E. Africa	9·7
St. Lucia	208·7	New Zealand	9·6
Jamaica	197·6	Sokotra	8·7
Antigua	189·8	Newfoundland	5·6
Trinidad and Tobago	179·2	Somaliland	5·1
Zanzibar	178·2	British Honduras	4·7
India	174·8	Papua	4·2
Ceylon	161·2	Rhodesia	3·6
Seychelles	145·5	British Guiana	3·3
W. Indies	139·4	Canada	1·9
Anguilla	116·4	Commonwealth	1·5
Dominica	111·0	Bechuanaland	0·4
S. Nigeria	98·4	Falkland Is.	0·4
Virgin Is.	95·8	Labrador	0·03

The population of the British Empire, 417 millions, is approximately 24% of that of the World, 1,721 millions; while the density of population of the Empire, 36·8 inhabitants per square mile, is 3·6 in excess of that of the World.

REVENUE

SUMMARY FOR BRITISH EMPIRE (INCLUDING PROTECTORATES) AT SEVERAL DATES (IN £1,000,000)

	1897.	1901.	1907.	1911.	*Inc. %,* 1897–07.	*Inc. %,* 1901–11.	*Av. rev.* 1907–11.	*% of total rev.*
United Kingdom	116·0	140·1	156·5	185·0	34·9	32·0	165·7	47·08
India	61·6	76·3	71·0	82·8	15·3	8·4	75·8	21·54
Australasian Poss.	31·05	36·77	48·05	62·13	54·7	69·0	53·2	15·1
American Poss.	10·57	14·14	23·69	32·64	124·2	130·9	26·1	7·41
African Poss.	11·25	13·57	22·57	21·84	100·6	60·9	22·5	6·39
Asiatic Poss. (except India)	3·31	4·99	7·97	9·41	141·4	88·6	8·01	2·24
European Poss.	0·56	0·65	0·83	0·86	48·2	32·3	0·83	0·24
Total revenue	234·34	286·52	330·61	394·68	41·1	37·7	352·14	100·0

REVENUE

Principal Divisions of British Empire

(in £1,000,000)

	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
United Kingdom	116·0	117·8	129·8	140·1	152·7	161·3	151·3	153·2	153·9	155·0	156·5	151·6	131·7	203·8	185·0
India . .	61·6	67·6	68·6	75·2	76·3	77·4	83·7	84·8	85·0	73·0	71·0	69·8	74·6	80·7	82·8
Australia . .	25·9	26·3	27·7	29·2	30·5	32·1	32·6	33·4	34·0	35·8	38·7	41·0	40·9	44·4	50·6
Canada . .	7·8	8·4	9·7	10·5	10·9	11·9	13·6	14·5	14·6	16·5	19·7	17·5	20·9	24·2	28·0
Un. of S. Africa .	9·4	8·4	8·2	8·1	10·9	15·9	22·4	20·2	17·1	17·5	17·2	15·9	17·5	18·6*	14·4†
New Zealand .	5·1	5·3	5·7	5·9	6·1	6·5	7·1	7·4	7·7	8·5	9·2	9·1	9·3	10·4	11·1
West Africa ‡ .	0·7	0·8	0·9	1·2	1·4	1·6	1·8	2·0	1·9	2·3	2·8	2·8	2·9	3·8	4·2
West Indies .	1·8	1·9	2·0	2·1	2·2	2·3	2·4	2·3	2·4	2·4	2·7	2·5	2·6	2·8	3·0
Ceylon . .	1·5	1·7	1·7	1·8	1·8	1·8	2·0	2·1	2·3	2·3	2·4	2·4	2·6	2·9	3·0
Straits Setts. .	0·4	0·5	0·5	0·5	0·7	0·7	0·7	1·0	1·1	1·1	1·2	1·0	1·0	1·1	1·3

* 11 months. † 10 months. ‡ Nigeria, Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, and Gambia.

Inter-Colonial Trade (Principal Directions of Exchange)

Average Imports (in £1,000), 1907–11, unless otherwise stated, from British Possessions.

	India.	*Australia.*	*Canada.*	*Un. S. Africa.*	*New Zealand.*	*Ceylon.*	*W. Indies.*	*All British Possessions.*
India	×	4,863	10·3	89*	24·8	469†	—	12,000
Australia . . .	2,156	×	665	209	2,535	728	75	7,000
Canada . . .	487‡	93	×	15*	143	222†	1,381	3,660
Union of South Africa .	895	1,917	601	×	82	169	9·75	4,000
New Zealand . . .	311‡	2,432§	215‖	7*	×	237	—	4,400
Ceylon	4,789	305	—	13·5*	2·6	×	—	6,000
West Indies . . .	99·3‡	—	588¶	—	—	—	—	1,200

* Union of South Africa's 'country of ultimate destination' exports (av. 1909–12).
† Ceylon's exports (av. 1907–11).
‡ British India's 'country of ultimate destination' exports (av. 1907–11).
§ Australia's exports (av. 1907–11).
‖ Canada's exports (av. 1907–11).
¶ Imports from Canada and Newfoundland (av. 1907–11).

CONSUMPTION PER HEAD OF BEER, SPIRITS, AND TEA

Beer (in Gallons)

	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
United Kingdom	31·3	31·8	32·6*	31·6	30·8	30·3	29·8	29·0	27·9	28·2	27·9	26·9	26·2†	26·4	27·3
Australia . .	11·5	11·8	11·9	12·6	12·5	12·7*	11·8	11·4	11·4	10·7†	11·2	11·3	11·1	11·8	12·4
New Zealand .	8·2†	8·4	8·6	9·1	9·4	9·2	9·5	9·5	9·2	9·6	10·1	10·2*	9·7	9·7	9·7
Canada . .	3·5†	3·9	4·1	4·5	4·7	5·1	4·6	4·8	5·2	5·5	6·3	5·9	5·9	6·2	6·8*

The figures for the Union of S. Africa are 1·2 gals.

British India's consumption per head, 0·03 gal., is constant, as is Newfoundland's, 0·3. In the period 1897–1911 consumption per head in the United Kingdom decreased 12·76 %; in Australia it increased 7·8 %, in New Zealand 18·3 %, and in Canada 94·3 %.

Spirits (in Gallons)

	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
United Kingdom	1·02	1·03	1·09	1·12*	1·09	1·05	0·99	0·96	0·92	0·91	0·91	0·86	0·70	0·65†	0·68
Australia . .	0·79	0·80	0·84	0·89	0·98*	0·85	0·81	0·89	0·97	0·77	0·88	0·71†	0·79	0·80	0·85
New Zealand .	0·66†	0·66	0·69	0·72	0·76	0·75	0·75	0·76	0·73	0·77	0·81*	0·80	0·74	0·77	0·78
Canada . .	0·73	0·54†	0·67	0·71	0·76	0·78	0·81	0·92	0·89	0·90	0·97	0·89	0·91	0·98	1·06*
Newfoundland .	0·27	0·32	0·24†	0·29	0·28	0·30	0·30	0·34	0·43*	0·34	0·39	0·41	0·39	0·38	0·39

Union of S. Africa (1911) 0·28.

In the period 1897–1911 consumption per head in the United Kingdom decreased 33·3 %; the increase per head in Australia was 7·6 %, New Zealand 18·2 %, Canada 45·2 %, and Newfoundland 44·4 %.

Tea (lb.)

	1897.	1898.	1899.	1900.	1901.	1902.	1903.	1904.	1905.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.	1911.
United Kingdom	5·79†	5·83	5·95	6·07	6·16	6·07	6·04	6·02	6·02	6·22	6·26	6·24	6·36	6·39	6·47*
Australia . .	7·14	7·31	7·7	7·82	6·88	6·18	5·87†	6·92	6·77	6·89	8·12*	6·78	6·9	7·92	7·30
New Zealand .	6·33†	6·41	6·4	6·78	7·08	6·38	6·38	7·06	6·65	6·78	7·30	6·78	7·45	7·57	7·9*
Canada . .	4·73	3·84	4·76	4·69	4·29	3·53†	4·23	5·38*	4·39	4·15	4·27	5·01	4·96	4·95	5·33
Newfoundland .	4·42	3·99	5·04*	4·14	4·99	4·17	4·61	4·81	4·79	4·36	3·65†	4·16	4·83	4·64	4·60

Consumption in British India, 1911, 0·04 lb. per head; in S. Africa, 1910, 1·14 lb. per head.

In the period 1897–1911 consumption per head in the United Kingdom increased 11·9 %, in Australia 2·2 %, in New Zealand 24·8 %, in Canada 12·7 %, and in Newfoundland 4·1 %.

It may be added that the consumption of *Coffee* in the United Kingdom (0·62 lb. per head) fell off to the extent of 8·82 % in the period 1897–1911, in Australia (0·52 lb. per head) the decrease amounts to 7·15 %, and in Newfoundland (0·14 lb. per head) to 39·13 %. In Canada (1·82 lb. per head) the consumption increased 93·6 % in the same time.

* Highest year. † Lowest year.

Table of Distances

Between Ports of the Empire, and between certain other points on Routes of Imperial Communications.

	Statute Miles.
Adelaide—Fremantle (W. Aus.)	1,546
„ —Cape Town, direct	6,431
Aden—Colombo	2,418
„ —Suez	1,507
Auckland—Tahiti	2,551
Bristol—Kingston (Jamaica)	4,619
Cape Town—Teneriffe	5,100
„ —Fremantle	5,429
„ —Wellington(New Zealand) via Cook Strait	8,081
„ —Wellington via south of New Zealand	8,132
Colombo—Fremantle	3,592
Colon—Panama (rail)	50
Gibraltar—Port Said	2,203
Halifax—Vancouver (rail)	3,656
Hobart (Tas.)—Melbourne	541
„ —The Bluff (New Zealand)	1,069
Honolulu—Suva (Fiji)	3,204
Kingston (Jamaica)—Colon (Panama)	632
Liverpool—Halifax (Nova Scotia)	2,888
„ —Sydney (Aus.) via Canada	14,529
London—Auckland (New Zealand) via Canada	14,050
„ —Auckland (New Zealand) via Panama	13,140
„ —Adelaide via Brindisi (overland) and Suez	11,690
„ —Adelaide via Gibraltar and Suez	12,740
„ —Adelaide via Cape Town and Fremantle	13,895
„ —Adelaide via Cape Town, direct	13,380
„ —New Zealand* via Brindisi (overland), Suez, and Melbourne	13,790
„ —New Zealand via Cape Town	14,860
„ —Melbourne via Cape Horn	15,520
„ —Sydney via Panama	14,610
„ —Wellington via Cape Town	15,020
„ —Wellington via Cape Horn	13,810
Panama—Tahiti	5,169
Melbourne—Wellington	1,714
Southampton—Cape Town	6,856
Suez—Port Said	100
Sydney—Auckland	1,464
„ —Vancouver via Fiji	7,989
„ —Suva (Fiji)	1,999
Vancouver—Honolulu	2,786

* The Bluff, South Island.

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